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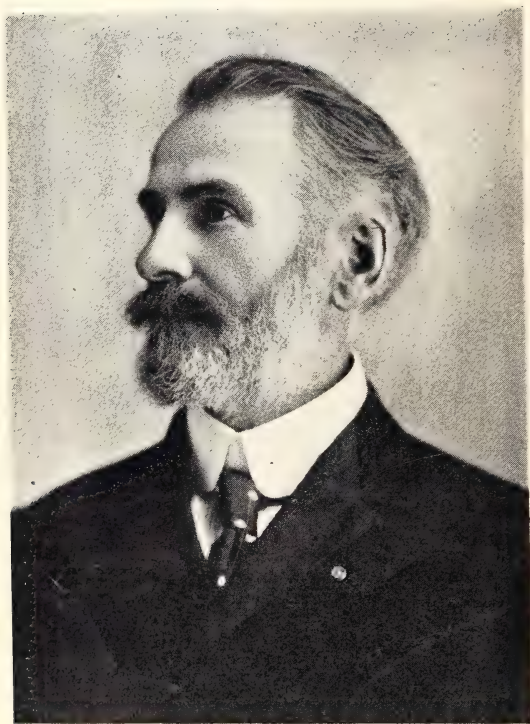
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PIERRE GEORGES ROY.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

VOL. 7.

No. 1.

Sieur de Vincennes Identified

BY

PIERRE-GEORGES ROY

INDIANAPOLIS

C. E. PAULEY & COMPANY



INTRODUCTORY

On November 3, 1672, the Canadian fief of Vincennes was granted to Francois Bissot. On his death it passed to his son, Jean Baptiste Bissot, who died at the Indian village of Kiki-on-ga, the site of Fort Wayne, in 1719. From that date there has been found no official record of the ownership in Canada until 1749, when it passed by judicial decree to Joseph Roy. It is an interesting coincidence—for Indiana, a happy coincidence—that the centennial year of Indiana's statehood should have been made more memorable by the identification of the Sieur de Vincennes, who succeeded Jean Baptiste Bissot, and who founded the first permanent settlement in Indiana, by a descendant of Joseph Roy. Ever since Americans began the study of the early French history of this region, the identity of this Sieur de Vincennes has been almost as mysterious as that of the Man in the Iron Mask, or the author of the Letters of Junius. Judge Law, the first American who undertook any systematic investigation of the history of Vincennes, stated that he signed his name "Francois Morgan de Vinsenne"; but Morgan is not a Canadian or French name, and the fief was in the Bissot family until 1749. But a sister of Jean Baptiste Bissot married Seraphin Margane, which is the French name most nearly approaching "Morgan", and it has generally been assumed that a son or grandson of hers must have been our Sieur de Vincennes. It has remained for M. Pierre-Georges Roy, an erudite Canadian writer, to unearth the conclusive documentary evidence that our founder was Francois Bissot, a son of Jean Baptiste Bissot, who was in the French military service at the same time as his father; and that this Francois Bissot's godfather was his uncle Francois Margane. This clears the mystery, it being evident that Francois Bissot as-

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sumed his godfather's name, as was often done by the early Canadians, to distinguish himself from his father, who signed his name "Bissot de Vinsenne". The same document also establishes the fact that the first French post in Indiana was built at Fort Wayne in 1722, and gives us a definite point for the beginning of European settlement within our borders, although this post was not permanent, the post having been destroyed by the Indians in 1747.

Pierre-Georges Roy, to whom Indiana is indebted for this information, was born at Levis, across the St. Lawrence from Quebec, October 23, 1870. He is the son of the Notary Leon Roy and Marguerite de Lavoye, being the twelfth child in a family of fourteen. One of his elder brothers was the distinguished J. Edmond Roy, President of the Royal Society of Canada, and author of the History of the Seigneurie of Lauzon. M. Leon Roy was able to give his family good educations, and Pierre-Georges graduated in turn from the College of Levis, the Seminary of Quebec, and the University of Laval. Literary by inclination, his first venture was the establishment, in 1890, of *Le Glaneur*, a magazine for young people, which was continued for two years. He then entered journalistic work on the *Quotidien*, at Levis, and the *Canadien*, at Quebec, and established *Le Moniteur*, at Levis. In 1894 he was made deputy Clerk of the Court of Appeals at Quebec, in which office he remained for twenty years, meanwhile continuing his historical and literary researches. In 1895 he established *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, which has been, and still is, the great arena for Canadian historical discussion, and is the recognized organ of the *Societe des Etudes Historiques*. In addition to editorial work, M. Roy is the author of numerous publications among which, with their dates of issue, are the following:

La Réception de Mgr le Vicomte D'Argenson, 1890; Premier Voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada, 1890; Oraison

Funebre du Comte de Frontenac, 1895; Les Troubles de L'Eglise du Canada en 1728, 1897; La Neuvième Législature de Québec, 1897; Guide de Levis, 1898; Bibliographie de la Poésie Franco-Canadienne, 1900; La Famille Taschereau, 1901; Notre-Dame de Bonsecours de L'Islet, 1901; Sainte-Julie de Somerset, 1901; La Dixieme Legislature de Quebec, 1901; Sainte-Antoine de Tilly, 1902; La Famille, Frémont, 1902; La Famille Juchereau Duchesnay, 1903; La Famille D'Estimauville de Beaumouchel, 1903; La Famille Taché, 1904; La Famille Godefroy de Tonnancour, 1904; Un Procès Criminel a Quebec au 17e Siecle, 1904; Oraison Funébre de Mgr de Pontbriand, 1905; La Famille D'Irumberry de Salaberry, 1905; La Famille Robert de la Morandière, 1905; La Famille des Champs de Boishebert, 1906; La Famille Panet, 1906; Oraison Funèbre de Mgr Briand, 1906; Les Noms Géographiques de Québec, 1906; La Famille Renaud D'Avène des Meloizes, 1907; La Famille Aubert de Gaspè, 1907; La Famille Boisseau, 1907; La Famille Adhémar de Lantagnac, 1908; La Famille Jarret de Verchères, 1908; La Famille Mariauchau D'Esgly, 1908; La Famille Céloron de Blainville, 1909; La Famille de Ramezay, 1910; Autour de la Buvette, 1910; Le Grand menteur, 1911; La Famille Bailly de Messein, 1911; La Famille des Bergères de Rigauville, 1912; La Famille Faribault, 1913; La Famille Bécard de Grandville, 1914; La Famille Viennay-Pachot, 1915; La Famille Foucault, 1915; La Famille Glackemeyer, 1915; La Famille Chavigny de la Chevrotiér, 1,16; La Famille Margane de Lavaltrie, 1917; La Famille Guillimin, 1917; Inventaire D'une Collection de Pieces Judiciaires, Notariales, etc., etc., 2 vols. 1917; La Glaneur, 2 vols.; Le Moniteur, 2 vols; Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, 23 vols, (1) 1895-1917.

These works are historical with the exception of Autour de la Buvette and Le Grand menteur, which are temperance arguments, M. Roy being a stalwart prohibitionist. Among

the recognitions of his literary work have been his election to the Royal Society of Canada in 1904, the decoration of Officier de L'Instruction Publique from the French Government in 1905, the degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Laval in 1906, and the appointment of Federal Archivist of Quebec in 1915. For putting it in touch with M. Roy, the Indiana Historical Society is indebted to Hon. Merrill Moores, who visited Quebec in the summer of 1916, and learned that M. Roy had made a collection of documents concerning the Bissot family. Mr. Moores says of his visit:

"I went to Quebec for the purpose of finding a representative of the Roy family, who I supposed would be still in possession of the seignory. I went to Buffalo and down by boat to Quebec, and was told by a priest on the boat that a lawyer and also a historian, brothers who belonged to the Roy family, which had possessed the seignory, were still living in Levis, across from the city of Quebec, the one being named Edmond and the other Georges. I crossed to Levis and made inquiries as to both of these gentlemen, and found that the lawyer, who had been a man of prominence, was dead. I then, with some difficulty, located the house of the man I had been told was a college professor and historian. His house was temporarily vacant, but a neighbor told me that I would find him at his country house to the east of Levis. Being unable to get a cab, I took a trolley car as far as it went and learned from a grocer where the country house was, and started across a tremendous meadow in the direction of the country house. In crossing the meadow I met a gentleman walking toward the city of Levis with a boy and a girl, of about eleven and nine years old. I spoke to the gentleman in English and asked to be directed to the residence of Mr. Roy. He told me in French that he was Mr. Roy, and he and I walked back to Levis together. He told me that the seignory was several miles to the east

of where I had met him, and that his country house was only about half a mile east of there, and was on land which had belonged to the seignors, and was on the site of the old family tannery. Returning, he showed me where the bakery of the original Roy had been located. This had long ago disappeared. It seems that Bissot was the principal tanner and Roy the principal baker in early colonial days. I had an invitation from Mr. Roy who took me to his office at 23 Rue St. Louis, Quebec (which is a part of the old mansion occupied by the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, at the time when he was Governor General of Lower Canada). I had a very delightful visit with Mr. Roy, who, as I say, offered to drive me out to the old fief. But Congress was in session and I had to go back and could not get out. I have a promise from him, however, to show me the fief on my next visit to Quebec. It is between 600 and 700 acres, and is quadrangular in shape, being perhaps a quarter of a mile on the river and running back a considerable distance to the south of the river. It is directly south of the Isle d' Orleans. It is in the county of Bellechasse. The village of Beaumont is, I think, on the fief. The old fief now belongs to a Quebec lawyer named Grahame. I think his name is Stuart Grahame. Mr. Roy has written a great deal of Canadian history, particularly with regard to old Canadian families and early trials. He is not a lawyer, but is a professor in Laval University, and is Public Archivist of the Province. His cousin, Alfred Valère Roy, is the Liberal member of the Legislative Assembly for Quebec for the constituency of Levis; and another relative is Camille Roy, secretary of Laval University. Another is Paul Eugene Roy, auxiliary bishop of Quebec. Still another, Phillippe, is Commissioner of Canada, in France, and has been and possibly still is a Senator in the Canadian Senate."

The Society is indebted to Mrs. Charles W. Moores for the translation of M. Roy's documents, which were in French; and also to Miss Belle Noble Dean, for typewriting the translation.

The translations follow.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary, Ind. Hist. Soc.

SIEUR DE VINCENNES IDENTIFIED

PONT-AUDEMER, PLACE OF THE ORIGIN, IN FRANCE, OF THE
BISSOTS OF VINCENNES.

The town of Pont-Audemer is today the chief place of the district of the department of l'Eure. Its population is a little more than six thousand souls. The actual town of Pont-Audemer is situated on the site of an ancient military post on the Roman road from Lillebonne to Lisieux.

After the Norman conquest, Pont-Audemer formed the endowment of an important Norman family. One of the lords of the town, Onfroï, built the walls and the castle. In 1122 the town was burned by Henry I of England, and the castle suffered a siege of seven weeks. In 1203 the seigniorship of Pont-Audemer was confiscated by Richard the Lion-hearted. Then it was attached to the duchy of Normandy by John Lackland. The next year Pont-Audemer submitted to Philip Augustus, who established and extended its communal liberties. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries many provincial councils were held at Pont-Audemer, notably in 1244, 1257, 1259, 1260, 1265, 1267, 1269, 1279, 1286, 1291, 1305, 13321. In the fourteenth century likewise many of the Norman states held their councils at Pont-Audemer.

On the second of February, 1353, John the Good, among other domains abandoned the viscounty of Pont-Audemer to the king of Navarre, Charles the Bad. This town was then by many sieges disputed between the troops of Navarre and the royal armies. In 1378 Du Guesclin and admiral Jean de Vienne took possession of it and razed the walls and the castle. Charles the Third the Noble, son of Charles the Bad, re-

nounced his rights over Pont-Audemer in consideration of a sum of ready money. In 1418 Pont-Audemer fell into the power of the English. In the following year, Dunois re-occupied it in the name of the king of France. During the religious wars the town was taken and retaken several times by the protestants and the catholics.

Pont-Audemer was in the middle ages an important port. It is said to have furnished sixty ships to the expedition of William the Conqueror. Pont-Audemer is now no more than a little river port frequented annually by about five hundred ships of different tonnage. Since the eleventh century the inhabitants of the town have been engaged successfully in the manufacture of fabrics and the preparation of leather. The making of paper was already flourishing in the fifteenth century. These three industries have continued at Pont-Audemer until our time. Francois Bissot de la Rivière, who introduced tanneries so successfully in New France, had been then in a good school.

Pont-Audemer still possesses some beautiful monuments. Notably the church of Saint-Oeun, whose choir goes back to the eleventh century; the church of Notre-Dame du Pré, where Francois Bissot de la Rivière was baptized, of which there remains a nave which is considered to go back to the twelfth century; the church of Saint-Germain la Campagne, which has also a nave of the eleventh century.*

*This information about Pont-Audemer is taken from *The History of the Town of Pont-Audemer*, from the *Dictionnaire Historique du Department de L'Eure* and from the *Grande Encyclopedie*.

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY BISSOT DE
VINCENNES.

FRANCOIS BISSOT DE LA RIVIERE.

Francois Bissot de la Rivière was originally from Pont-Audemer, a town of ancient Normandy, which today forms a part of the department of l'Eure. Born in the parish of Notre-Dame des Prés, he was a son of "the honorable man", Jean Bissot du Gommer and of Marie Assour. Bissot went to New France before 1639. He died at the Hotel-Dieu of Quebec on the 26th of July, 1673, age fifty-nine years, and was buried in the cemetery of the hospital.

On the 25th of October, 1648, Francois Bissot de la Rivière married at Quebec, Marie Couillard, daughter of Guillaume Couillard and of Guillemette Hébert. Two years after the death of Francois Bissot de la Rivière, on the 7th of September, 1675, at Quebec, Marie Couillard married again, Jacques de Lalande-Gayon, son of Pierre de Lalande-Gayon and of Marie d'Arasne, of the town of Bayonne. Madame de Lalande died at Saint-Pierre in the island of Orleans on the 22d of June, 1703, and was buried the next day in the cemetery of this parish. Jacques de Lalande-Gayon, after the death of his wife, was certainly settled in France for six years.* From the marriage of François de la Rivière and of Marie Couillard were born twelve children:

*Jacques de Lalande-Gayon, however, went to Quebec in 1704, probably to arrange the inheritance of his wife but he soon returned to France. From the marriage of Jacques de Lalande-Gayon and of Marie Couillard there was born at Quebec a son on the 26th of June, 1677: Jacques-Marie de Lalande-Gayon. He became captain of vessel in the service of the king of Spain. By his will, received at Bayonne on the 3rd of August, 1753, before the notary Duclercq, he gave to his nephew, Louis de Lafontaine, the eldest son of M. de

1—*Jean-Francois Bissot.*

Born at Quebec the 6th of December, 1649; died in the same place on the 25th of November, 1653. He was buried the next day in the chapel of St. Joseph of the parish church, on the right side of the altar.

2—*Louise Bissot.*

Born at Quebec the 25th of September, 1651; married at Quebec the 12th of August, 1668, to Séraphin Margane de Lavaltrie, lieutenant of a company of a regiment of Lignières, son of Sebastien Margane and of Denise Tonnot, of the parish of Saint-Benoit, town and archbishopric of Paris.

M. Margane de Lavaltrie died at Montreal May 16, 1699, and was buried the next day in the parish church. Madame de Lavaltrie survived her husband almost thirty-four years before she died at Montreal, March 1, 1733.* From their marriage eleven children were born: five sons and six daughters. Two of their sons were killed in the service of the king. Another, after having lived in Labrador for many years and having raised a family, became a priest. The one who continued the line died at an advanced age after having served under the crowns of France and England. The daughters all made distinguished marriages. The family Margane de Lavaltrie died out among us at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

M. Benjamin Sulte (*Le Regiment de Carignan*, p. 85) makes her die in 1691.

3—*Genevieve Bissot.*

Born at Quebec May 25, 1653; married at Quebec June 12, 1673, to Louis Maheu, son of the late René Maheu and the Lafontaine de Belcour and of Charlotte Bissot, all his property, his rights and law suits which he might have in Canada, on condition that he lend assistance and aid to his sister with whom the said testator recommended him to live on good terms and with friendship. M. de Lalande-Gayon valued the property he left in this manner to Louis de Lafontaine at the sum of eight thousand livres.

late Marguerite Corriveau. M. Maheu died in his house in the lower town of Quebec November 24, 1683, and was buried on the 26th in the parish cemetery. M. J. Edmond Roy relates an annoying adventure which happened to the widow Maheu; "Nicolas Daneau Sieur de Muy, captain of a company of infantry, and who was to be later appointed governor of Louisiana, courted her. He had promised marriage and the terms of the betrothal had been solemnly agreed upon, when one fine day suddenly the amorous one disappeared. It was learned in the spring of 1687 that he was about to marry at Boucherville a granddaughter of Pierre Boucher, the old governor of Trois-Rivières. In spite of the protestations of the discarded beauty, M. de Caumont, then missionary at Boucherville, married the faithless one to Mlle. Marguerite Boucher. A law suit was begun in the court of the provost at Quebec, and the priest who had celebrated the marriage was summoned to explain himself. They were summoned to the bishop's court, the pledges of the fickle officer were seized. The situation threatened to become more and more complicated when, to avoid too great a scandal, it was decided that M. de Muy should pay a compensation of 350 livres to the widow, and that the affair should be forgotten.*

We after that lose sight of the widow Maheu.

On April 4, 1869, the Covereign Council rendered an important judgment in a law suit begun by Francois Vianney Pachot, merchant of Quebec, against the widow Maheu. She had obtained the possession of the effect of the renunciation which she had made to the common possession which had existed between her and her late husband. She was, how-

**Histoire de la seigneurie de Lauzon*, vol. 1, p. 250. Concerning Nicolas Daneau de Muy consult the *Bulletin Des Recherches Historiques*, vol. X, p. 345.

ever, sentenced to give back the sum of 240 livres and 10 deniers into the sum total of the personal effect of the said common possession.†

4—*Catherine Bissot.*

Born at Quebec March 6, 1655. Married at Saint-Joseph de la Pointe-Levy Nov. 27, 1670, to Etienne Charest, son of the late Pierre Charest and of Renée Marle of the parish of Sainte-Radegonde, city and bishopric of Poitiers. Madame Charest died at Saint-Joseph de la Pointe-Levy in 1694.* M. Charest died at the same place May 5, 1699, and was buried the next day in the parish church. Of the marriage of Etienne Charest and Catherine Bissot were born ten children. One of them, Etienne Charest, was, in 1763, sent to England as a deputy of the people to beg the king of Great Britain to grant his new subjects a bishop to be governor of the church of Canada. The family Charest left Canada in 1765.

5—*Claire-Francoise Bissot.*

Born at Quebec April 13, 1656. Married at Quebec October 7, 1675, to Louis Jolliet, son of the late Jean Jolliet and of Marie d'Abancourt. Louis Jolliet died between May and September, 1700, on one of the Mingan islands or on the island of Anticosti. We know nothing definite on this point. Madame Jolliet died at Quebec March 1, 1710, and was buried the next day at the parish church.

Of the marriage of Louis Jolliet and Claire-Francoise Bis-

†Jugements et Deliberations Du Conseil Souverain, vol. 111, p. 313.

*The act of the burial of Madame Charest cannot be found in the register, but an entry made in the account book of the vestry board allows no doubt of the date of her death. In the giving in of the account of the church warden Guillaume Albert for 1694: "I have received from M. Charest fourteen pounds which he owes for the burial of his wife." The following year the church warden received thirty-four pounds, the balance of the exepense of this burial." (A note of M. Edmond Roy.)

sot there were born seven children. Their two sons Jean-Baptiste Jolliet de Mingan and Charles Jolliet d' Anticosti, have numerous descendants in the province of Quebec. Louise Grignon, the daughter of Jean Grignon, who married Marie Genevieve Jolliet, the eldest daughter of Louis Jolliet, became the wife of the baron of Castelnau.

6—*Marie Bissot.*

Born at Quebec July 3, 1657; married at Quebec December 5, 1682, to Claude Porlier, merchant, son of the late Claude Porlier and of Marie-Madeleine Sylvain, of the parish of Saint-Séverin, city and archbishopric of Paris.

M. Porlier died at Quebec July 31, 1689, and was buried in the parish church. Marie Bissot married again at Quebec, February 26, 1691, Jacques Gourdeau, of Beaulieu, son of Jacques Gourdeau de Beaulieu, citizen, and Eléonore de Grandmaison. Madame Gourdeau de Beaulieu died at Quebec July 23, 1719, and was buried in the parish church the next day. M. Gourdeau de Beaulieu died in his turn July 2, 1721.*

Marie Bissot had children by her two marriages. The Porlier family died out among us about the middle of the nineteenth century. The Gourdeau are still numerous in the district of Quebec. Colonel Gourdeau ex- sub minister of the Marine, is descended from Jacques G. de B. and Marie Bissot.

7—*Guillaume Bissot.*

Born at Quebec September 16, 1661.

In the inventory of the property of François Bissot de la Rivière made April 27, 1676, by the notary Becquet, it is

*Neither Mgr. Tanguay nor the registers of Notre Dame of Quebec mention the death of M. Gourdeau. We have found this information in a request addressed to the Superior Council of Quebec in October, 1732, by Jacques G. de B., son of Jacques G. de B. and of Marie Bissot, to obtain some letters of inheritance without liability to debts beyond assets descended.

said that Louis Jolliet is the guardian of the minor Bissots among others Guillaume fifteen years old.

On the other hand, in the census by name of the colony of New France made in 1681, there is no mention of Guillaume Bissot. From which one can conclude that he died between 1676 and 1681.

8—*Charles-François Bissot.*

Born at Quebec February 5, 1654.

He was married at Montreal, February 28, 1699, to Anne-François Forestier, daughter of Antoine Forestier, surgeon, and of Marie-Madeleine Cavelier. M. Bissot carried on business at Mingan for twenty years. In 1705 he turned his energies toward the island of Terre Neuve where he had rented the fief and seigniorship of Port-à-Choix in order to carry on there fishing and trading. We lose sight of him from this time. It is possible that he died at Terre-Neuve and also his wife and François Forestier. We know of one child Marie Madeleine Bissot born at Montreal December 5, 1699; died at Lachine March 22, 1718.

9—*Marie-Charlotte Bissot.*

Marie-Charlotte Bissot, born at Quebec June 4, 1666. Married at Saint-Joseph de la Pointe-Lévy, February 25, 1686, to Pierre Benac, a native of Bayonne, merchant of Quebec. In 1690 M. Benac was controller general of the farms of the king in New France. M. Benac returned to France toward the end of the 17th century. His wife followed him there since our parish registers nowhere mention her burial.

Father Paul du Poisson, Jésuit, traveling in Louisiana in the summer of 1727, wrote to his confère father, Louis Patouillet: "We left the Chapitoulas on the 29th. Although a larger canoe had been sent us, and in spite of the new arrangement of our party, we had almost as much discomfort

as before. We had only two miles to go that day in order that we might spent the night at Cannes Boulées, at the house of M. de Benac, director of the concession of M. D'Artagnan. He received us with friendship and regaled us with a Mississippi carp which weighed thirty-five pounds."

Could this M. de Benac who received so well the missionary Jésuit be our Benac? At all events we have no trace of M. Benac or of his wife after their departure from Canada.

10—*Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes.*

Known by the name Jean; was born at Quebec January 19, 1668. He was an officer in the troops of the detachment of the Marine; and died among the Miamis in 1719.

M. Bissot de Vincennes married at Montreal, September 19, 1696, Marguerite Forestier, daughter of Antoine Forestier, surgeon, and of Marie-Madeleine Cavelier. Madame Bissot de Vincennes died at Montreal September 27, 1748, and was buried the next day in the parish church. Of the marriage of Jean Baptiste Bissot and Marguerite Forestier there were born seven children:

(1) Marie-Louise Bissot de Vincennes—Born at Montreal June 20, 1697; married at Quebec, June 4, 1741, to Nicolas Boisseau, chief clerk of the provost of Quebec, widower of Marie-Anne Pagé de Quercy. She died at Quebec June 14, 1766. M. Boisseau died in the same place February 9, 1771.

(2) Claire-Charlotte Bissot de Vincennes—Born at Quebec May 6, 1698; a nun of the congregation of Notre-Dame, under the name of Soeur de l'Ascension. Died at Montreal April 25, 1773, and was buried on the 27th in the chapel of the Infant Jesus of the parish church.

(3) François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes—Born at Montreal June 17, 1700. Officer in the troops of the detachment of the Marines. Founder of the post of Vincennes. Burned

to death by the Chicksaws on the Mississippi* on the 25th of March, 1736.

He had married in 1733 ——— Longpré, daughter of Philippe Longpré of Kaskaskia. Of this marriage were born two daughters, Marie Therese, who became the wife of M. de L'Isle and Catherine.

(4) Marguerite-Catherine Bissot de Vincennes—Born at Montreal September 10, 1701. Died at the Hotel-Dieu at Quebec May 3, 1767, and was buried the next day in the convent cemetery.

(5) Catherine Bissot de Vincennes—Born at Montreal October 11, 1704. Died at the general hospital of the Gray Sisters at Montreal September 20, 1778, and was buried the 22d in the cemetery near the parish church.

(6) Michel Bissot de Vincennes—Born October, 1706. Died at Montreal January 10, 1709.

(7) Pierre Bissot de Vincennes—Born at Montreal August 27, 1710. Died in the same place August 29, 1710.

11—*Jeanne Bissot.*

Born at Quebec April 10, 1671. Married at Quebec April 7, 1687, to Philippe Clement du Valult de Valrennes, captain of a company of the troops of the detachment of the Marine, son of the late Antoine C du V. de V. and of Françoise De Coeur of the parish of Saint-Germain de la Potherie, bishopric of Beauvais. May 1, 1698, M. de Valrennes, weakened in consequence of his severe campaigns, obtained his discharge. He left for France with his wife in the autumn of 1698.

Madame de Valrennes was still living in 1708, since on the sixth of June of that year the minister wrote to M. l'Abbé de Mignon to ask him if the widow Valrennes whom

*According to the most probable opinion M. de Vincennes and his companions were burned near Fulton in Lee County, Miss.

he had recommended to him was French or Canadian, and if she was of noble family.

12—*Francois-Joseph Bissot.*

Born at Quebec May 19, 1673. Married at Quebec February 4, 1698, to Marie Lambert-Dumont, daughter of the late Eustache Lambert-Dumont, who when he was living was a citizen and merchant of Quebec, and of Marie Vanneck. M. Bissot died at Quebec December 11, 1737, and was buried the next day in the parish church under his pew. Madame Bissot died at Quebec May 3, 1745, and was also buried in the parish church. Of their marriage there were born nine children:

(1) Louise-Claire Bissot—Born at Quebec June 23, 1701. Married at Quebec, May 13, 1726, to Jean Fournel, son of Jean Fournel and of Marthe Crespín of the parish of Saint Caparacy, bishopric of Agen. M. and Mme. Fournel died in France.

(2) Charlotte Bissot—Born at Quebec April 30, 1704. Married at Quebec, October 24, 1728, to Jacques de Lafontaine de Belcour, son of Jean de Lafontaine, officer of the king and of Bernardine Jouin, of the parish of Versailles. She died at Quebec November 21, 1749, and was buried the next day in the parish church. M. de Lafontaine de Belcour died at Quebec June 18, 1765. They had several children. A number of their descendants still live in the district of Quebec.

(3) François-Etienne Bissot—Born at Quebec May 26, 1708. Died in the same place February 7, 1726. Buried in the parish cemetery.

(4) Jean Bissot—Born at Quebec November 30, 1711. Died in the same place December 1, 1711. Buried in the parish cemetery.

(5) Joseph Bissot—Born at Quebec September 4, 1713.

Died at Saint-Augustine November 3, 1713. Buried in the parish cemetery.

(6) Marie Bissot—Born at Mingan December, 1715. Died at Quebec August 18, 1720. Buried the next day in the parish cemetery.

(7) Louise Bissot—Born at Mingan August, 1718. Died at Quebec November 9, 1730. Buried the next day in the parish cemetery.

(8) Angelique Bissot—Born at Quebec December 12, 1719. Married at Quebec, September 17, 1737, to Jean Baptiste Poitevin de la Salmonais, son of the nobleman Henri Poitevin-Desorme and of the late Jeanne-Olive Arsan, of the parish of Saint Malo. This union was of short duration. In the autumn of the same year 1737 M. Poitevin de la Salmonais set sail for Martinique on the ship *Le Prudent*, commanded by Charles Cotterelle of Maine. He died in the course of this voyage. Of this marriage there was born a posthumous child, Marie Angelique Poitevin de la Salmonais, born at Quebec the 11th of July, 1738. After the death of her husband the widow Poitevin went to France to obtain the allowance of her matrimonial rights. On September 3, 1743, by the intervention of Jacques de Lafontaine, her brother-in-law, she demanded from the Lieutenant General of the Provost of Quebec to call together an assemblage of her relatives in order to select from among them a guardian and to allow her to remarry. The assemblage of her relatives took place the next day and the widow Poitevin de la Salmonais received permission to marry a second time the sieur Alexander-Jean Devaux, receiver of customs at Saint Malo, "or with any other who presented himself and suited her". In 1745 she was still a widow and lived at Rouen.

(9) Marie-Charlotte Bissot—Born at Mingan March 4,

1722. Married at Quebec, October 3, 1736, Jean-Pierre-François Vederic, the son of François Vederic and of Julie Houet, of the parish Notre-Dame de Havre de Grâce, the diocese of Rouen.

The census of the parish of Quebec in 1744 shows us that François Vederic navigator, thirty-five years old, and his wife Marie Bissot lived at that time at Quebec. The census gives them one child, Jacques François, seven years old. We then lose sight of M. Vederic. The widowed Mme. Vederic retired to the convent hospital of Quebec. She died in this hospital June 7, 1772, and was buried the next day in the cemetery of the nuns of the convent.

FRANÇOIS BISSOT DE LA RIVIERE.

(Grandfather of François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes.)

The presence of François Bissot, sieur de la Rivière, is noticed for the first time in an act of notary of 1647. He might possibly have come to Canada before this year. Ferland, who is so conscientious an investigator that one rarely finds him at fault, gives the name of Bissot in a list of colonists who came to Canada between 1641 and 1647, without giving precise information about it.*

François Bissot came originally from Pont-Audemer, a town of ancient Normandy, which now forms part of the department de l'Eure. His family lived in the parish of Notre-Dame des Prés. They were of good bourgeois stock, since the documents of the period speak of the father of François Bissot, Jean Bissot, sieur du Gommer, as "an honorable man."

*M. l'abbé Ferland is mistaken. Bissot was already in Quebec in 1639. July 2, 1639, he was present when the Jesuits took possession of the island Aux Ruaux. See the Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, Vol. II, p. 88.

Bissot first placed his estate on the coast of Lauzon, on point Lévy. This seigniory, conceded since 1636, was still wild and uncultivated. The exploration which Father Druillettes made along the right bank of the St. Lawrence in 1646, in going up the river from the falls of the Chaudière in order to get to New England, seems to have given the first impulse toward establishments opposite Quebec.

The first house was built on Point-Lévy the same year that Father Druillettes returned, 1647. Bissot had gone into partnership with one of his Norman compatriots, the famous interpreter, Guillaume Couture, to begin the development of his land. In the summer of 1647 one could have seen the former companion of Father Jogues wielding the axe in the midst of the great forests which then covered the coast. By autumn he had felled a certain number of trees and finished a little hut, a rustic dwelling made of roughly hewn timber. Bissot, who had contributed to the expense and furnished the material for construction, arranged with Couture to pay him two hundred livres for his work and to allow him possession of the clearing until Michaelmas 1648. (Agreement signed November 4, 1647. Greffe Claude Lecoustre.)

October 15, 1648, Jean de Lauzon, who then lived in Paris, granted to these two first copyhold tenants the regular titles of concession. The estates of Bissot and of Couture were neighboring. They each contained two hundred surface acres, five acres of frontage on the river and forty acres of depth inland. A little brook which flowed headlong into the river near Indian Cove twenty paces from the station of the Intercolonial separated the two estates. Couture lived on the right bank of the brook; Bissot occupied the left. The brook was held in common by the two colonists.

Between the two farms a road eighteen feet wide was

to run toward the great royal road projected all the way to the river. Jean Bourdon, engineer and surveyor, had already traced its limits himself in 1647. Bissot was to pay to his seignior each year twelve deniers of quit rent for each acre cultivated and changed into arable land or into meadow land, and to send to the fiscal agent at Michaelmas twenty-five salted and well seasoned eels. He had to have his land tilled within three years under penalty of revocation of the title. On his side the seignior reserved the right of repurchase in case of sale according to the custom of Normandy.

Bissot went to France in 1649 and returned from there in July. On August 9, 1653, Bissot was named deputy in the syndic body of Quebec to represent there the post of Lauzon. The seignior of Lauzon, absent from the country, could not fulfil toward his tenants the obligations which the feudal régime imposed upon him. Since 1655 Bissot had had a mill on Point Lévy where the colonists could bring their grain to be ground. The brook which separated the estate of Bissot from that of Couture turned the mill stone. In order to have all the property rights of this stream of water, Bissot arranged with Couture that he would grind his grain gratuitously for twenty years.

Bissot de la Rivière, while he was clearing his land on Point-Lévy, lived most of the time in Quebec. In the census of 1667 one finds on the farm at Lauzon three servants: Jean Guay, twenty-eight years old; Martin l'Enfilé, twenty-nine years old; Pierre Perrot, thirty-two years old.

He seems to have wished to group around his colonial estate people from Normandy. Guillaume Couture, with whom he had originally contracted a partnership for clearing the land was Norman like himself and possessed, in France, land situated at la Haye-Aubraye, fifteen kilometres from Pont-Audemer. Among the compatriots of Bissot set-

tled on Point-Lévy there was Louis Bégin, the ancestor of Cardinal Bégin, who was originally from Lieurey, a little parish in the suburbs of Pont-Audemer. François Becquet, who bought a piece of land in Lauzon, April 6, 1660, was a nephew of François Bissot. He came from Notre-Dame des Préaux, a parish situated six kilometres from Pont-Audemer. The families Lebieux, Chartier, Pourveau came likewise from Normandy.

A letter from Governor Jean de Lauzon, dated Paris, March 8, 1664, gives to Bissot a new concession of ten acres of land fronting along the river St. Lawrence and forty in depth. This concession touched on one side the rives des Etchemins and on the other side Jean Adam. It took in all the islands situated at the mouth of this river and the rights of hunting and fishing. M. de Lauzon said in his letter that he wished in this way to recompense Bissot for the good services which he had rendered to the people of the seigniority.

Bissot, representing the tenants of Lauzon in the syndic body, had indeed rendered them considerable service, but the family of Lauzon owed him still more recognition. For it was he who had discharged the obligation of building a common mill, since the seigniority, sparsely settled, could not yet yield a sufficient revenue to grind its own grain. He took part also in the organization of seigniorial justice. He was made fiscal agent toward the end of 1650 and succeeded Charles Sevestre as provost judge. Bissot filled this last office until his death.

After the death of the governor of Lauzon and the tragic disappearance of most of the members of his family, he took the seigniority by farm-hold, in partnership with Eustache Lambert, and gave himself up to its development. In 1668, when the metropole ordered that the seignors render faith and homage and make the avowal and enumeration of their lands,

Bissot presented himself to the controller and demanded allowance for the minors of the Lauzon family.

In the autumn of 1672, November 2, Bissot obtained in his turn a seignioral domain in the neighborhood of Lauzon. This property consisting of seventy acres of frontage and a mile of depth was bordered on the east by the seigniority of Beaumont, which Talon granted on the same day to Couillard des Ilets de Beaumont. It is this seigniority acquired in 1672 by Bissot which has since carried the name of Vincennes. Bissot began clearing in 1670. November 24th of this same year he sold to Jean Poliquin four acres of frontage and forty acres of depth in a place called la Petite-Pêche. The brook of la Petite-Pêche crossed the ancient domain of Vincennes, already inhabited by the family Faucher de Saint-Maurice and had for a long time turned the wheel of an old community mill built by the seignior Joseph Roy, father-in-law of this Corpron, a partner of Bigot, who stored grain there when Quebec suffered a most dreadful famine.

Formerly Pont-Audemer, the ancestral town of Bissot, was noted for its maritime fisheries, and its fishers had no equal in the salting of herring. Bissot all the time he was cultivating his lands and clearing the forests of Canada wanted to exploit the immense resources of our great river. In the autumn of 1630 he formed a partnership with Simon Guyon, Courville, Lespinay, de Tilly and Godefroy to go after seals near Tadoussac. Beside fishing for seals the partners desired to attract the savages at Tadoussac and to trade there in beaver skins. Godefroy went to France to obtain the right of this fishery from the company and to associate M. Rozée for an eighth partner. Courville, Lespinay and Simon Guyon had made a voyage on the Saguenay in the month of October to enter into an alliance with the savages, and they had

brought back from this first excursion about three hundred beaver skins.

On the 4th of March, 1663, M. d'Avaugour leased the trading rights of Tadoussac for two years to François Bissot, la Tesserie, des Cartes, Le Gardeur, de Tilly, Desprès, Juchereau de la Ferté, Damours, Charron, Bourdon, Juchereau de Saint-Denis (Judgments et Deliberations du Conseil Souverain, t. 1. p. 11), but this lease was broken in the October following by M. de Mézy.

Bissot, seeing the kingdom of the Saguenay closed to him, directed his attention toward the desert regions of Labrador, where up to this time only the Spaniards in company with the Basques had dared to fish.

In the winter of 1661, on February 25th, Bissot obtained from the Company of New France the island aux Oeufs, situated below Tadoussac toward the Pellean mountains of the north coast about forty miles from Tadoussac, with the right of hunting and of establishing on the land in whatever place he would find most convenient still fishing for seal, whales, porpoises and other kinds of fish from the island aux Oeufs to Sept-Iles and in la Grande-Anse, in the country of the Esquimaux where the Spaniards were still fishing. He obtained at the same time the right to take, in these places, the woods and the land necessary to establish his estate there.

It is this island, so celebrated for the shipwreck of the fleet of the English admiral Walker, on which Bissot began to put down the foundations of his first establishment for still fishing. It is nothing but a sterile rock, barren of all vegetation, about three-quarters of a mile long. In the crevices of the granite rocks they built huts for the fishers.

Bissoa had first established himself on the island aux Oeufs in order to protect his property from the incursions

of the savage Esquimaux, the fiercest and most barbarous of men. Later he carried his settlement to the extreme end of the harbor of Mingan, and there constructed a little fort of logs. Bissot directed these distant developments from Quebec. Each spring his ships laden with outfits for fishing and merchandise for trading left the little capitol, and only returned once, when the season was finished.

During the year 1668 Bissot began a tannery on Point-Lévy, on the land which he had obtained in 1648 from the seignior de Lauzon. The brook which was the border line between the farms of Couture and of Bissot and which turned the wheel of the mill was damaged. A large wooden canal carried the water from it and took it to the tanning vats. The intendent Talon during the year 1668 increased the "denier" of the king to be employed in the construction of the buildings necessary to this new enterprise to a sum of 3,268 livres. This advance considerable for the time was later reimbursed in large part by the Bissot heirs.

The community to aid Bissot in his enterprise lent him besides a sum of 1,500 livres at ten per cent. interest. This tannery, the first which one could have seen in Canada, had a great success. Much was expected of it, and the first attempts succeeded perfectly. From the second year the profits realized surpassed all expectations.

Bissot had set going three projects: the cultivation of the land, fishing and the making of leather. All three kept pace with each other, and Bissot was in a way to make his fortune. The little hut which he had had built by Couture in the autumn of 1647 had disappeared long ago to make room for a long, comfortable house. Beautiful golden harvests covered the meadows. The mill wheel turned constantly on the little babbling brook. The land produced grain as if

by enchantment. The meadows of l'Etchemin furnished fertile pasturage. Down there on the heights of Cape Saint-Claude the seigniory of Vincennes began to be populated. Each autumn on St. Martins day there was brought to the great white house hidden under the elms of Point-Lévy fat capons, eels and the quit rent money. The road which led to the Bissot dwelling became a sort of bridge d'Avignon where everyone had to pass to go to the river and to the town. A considerable business was also done there.

The development of the still fishing of Labrador went marvelously. This sort of industry was considered one of assured profits. Talon wrote, that it was so, to the king in 1671, informing him of the success of Bissot. The seal fishery exploited by Denis, Bissot and Riverin produced enough oil for local consumption and for exportation not only to France but to the Antilles. Talon, who wished to establish favorable relations with these colonies, sent them shipments of fish, of peas, of clap boards and of planks.

François Bissot de la Rivière died at Quebec on Sainte Annés day, July 26, 1673. He was buried in the cemetery of l' Hotel-Dieu.¹

CHARLES-FRANCOIS BISSOT.

(Uncle of François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes.)

Born at Quebec, February 5, 1664, of the marriage of François Bissot de la Rivière and Marie Couillard.

On November 3, 1672, M. Talon, intendant, granted to François Bissot de la Rivière for his sons Jean Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes and Charles-François Bissot (1), a fief of seventy acres of land fronting on a mile of depth along the

¹ J. Edmond Roy, *Francois Bissot, veïn de la Riviere*, pp. 31 et seq.

river St. Lawrence, from the land belonging to the Sieur de la Citiere to the land not yet conceded. This formed the fief or seigniory of Vincennes.

On May 16, 1689, Charles-François Bissot, heir to an eighth in the succession from his father, sold to Etienne Charest, his brother-in-law, all that belonged to him and was to revert to him of the land, buildings, mills, and tannery of Point-Lévy. This sale was made for a thousand livres.

On March 5, 1694, Charles-François Bissot, heir to an eighth of the land situated on the river of the Etchemins, sold to Pierre Benac, his brother-in-law, the part and portion belonging to him and reverting to him in the said land of the river of the Etchemins. This sale was made for forty livres. M. Benac was, however, to pay the seigniorial due which might be charged to the said portion.

On March 21, 1695, Louis Marchand, part seignior of the seigniories of Vincennes and Mingan, granted to Charles-François Bissot, also part seignior of the seigniory of Vincennes, dwelling on the coast of Lauzon, permission to carry on trade, traffic and business in the land and seigniory of Mingan and dependant places as well as fishing for cod and other fish, for the space of three consecutive years beginning in the spring of 1695, and also for all the time that the said sieur Marchand should be absent from Quebec in the country of the Ottawas, where he intended going the following spring, in case that he should stay there longer than the said three years. In return, M. Bissot was to pay him for each year a sum of fifty livres.

On November 9, 1695, Charles-François Bissot, François Joseph Bissot, Louis Jolliet and Charles Jolliet formed a partnership for the space of five years to go to Mingan and carry on business on the property of the late François Bissot de

la Rivière from the island aux Oeufs to the Bay des Espagnols.

On April 25, 1697, Charles-François Bissot and the other heirs of François Bissot de la Rivière leased and farmed out the seigniory of Mingan to Louis Jolliet for five years. After the death of Louis Jolliet in 1700 Charles-François Bissot and François-Joseph Bissot formed a partnership with the sons of the discoverer to continue the enterprise at Mingan. In 1703 François Hazeur advanced a sum of four thousand livres to the partners in the business at Mingan to load the ship *Le Rosaire* with merchandise necessary for their business.

On May 9, 1705, Charles-François Bissot and Joseph Guion du Rouvray formed a partnership for eighteen months to exploit at a common profit and a half of the loss or profit the fief and seigniory of Port à Choix in the island of Newfoundland, belonging to M. Hazeur, councillor in the Sovereign Council. The partners were to carry on at Port à Choix traffic, trading with the savages and commerce in fish.

It was understood that Joseph Guion Rouvray was to spend the winter at Port à Choix with a man whom M. Bissot was to send him in his stead, while he returned with their ship to Quebec in the autumn of 1705 and to return in the spring of 1706. Since his haste and the lack of time did not allow M. Bissot to find the man in question, it was understood that Guion de Rouvray should spend the winter alone at Port à Choix with four hired men and a young boy. As compensation M. Guion de Rouvray was to be paid from the whole sum before it was divided an amount which should be decided by two of their friends.

The same day Charles-François Bissot and Joseph Guion de Rouvray acknowledged that they owed to François Bissot

and to François and Jean Jolliet the sum of 300 livres for the freightage of the merchandise, victuals and tools which they had loaded on the ship the Saint Rosaire belonging to them and sailing to Port à Choix. It was understood that the Saint Rosaire was to touch at Mingan on the way to Port à Choix. Charles François Bissot was, however, to take 60 pounds of these 300 livres to recompense himself for the pain and care which he would take in guiding the said ship.

This is the last known mention of Charles-François Bissot. As we have just seen he ought to have returned from Port à Choix in the spring of 1706. Did he die during this voyage? We are led to believe that he did, since on March 30, 1708, his brother François-Joseph Bissot and Joseph Guion de Rouvray formed a partnership to exploit a new settlement on the island of Newfoundland. His name does not figure in this partnership, in spite of the fact that since 1695 the two brothers had always been associated in all their enterprises.

JEAN-BAPTISTE BISSOT DE VINCENNES

(Father of François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes.)

Born at Quebec, January 19, 1668, of the marriage of François Bissot de la Rivière and Marie Couillard. He was baptized the 21st of the same month by M. Henry de Bernieres, curé de Quebec. His godfather was M. Jean Talon, intendant of New France, and his godmother Guillemette-Marie Hébert, widow of Guillaume Couillard.

On November 3, 1672, the intendant Talon granted to François Bissot de la Rivière for his sons Jean Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes (godson of M. Talon) and ——— Bissot, seventy acres of land frontage, a mile of depth on the river

St. Lawrence from the land belonging to the Sieur de la Citière to the land not yet conceded in fief and seigniority. This is the fief or seigniority of Vincennes. This concession was made under the ordinary conditions; to bring faith and homage to the chateau St. Louis, at Quebec, to hold or cause to be held faith and place, to preserve the oak woods suitable for the construction of vessels, to give information concerning the mines and minerals and to leave open roads necessary for passage, etc., etc., M. Talon declared that he granted this seigniority to M. Bissot de la Rivière to give to his son Jean Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes and ——— Bissot more opportunity for establishing themselves.*

On November 10, 1676, Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes entered the seminary at Quebec to pursue his education there. The archives of the seminary say in regard to him: "not being fit for the ecclesiastical state, he left November 18, 1680." The seminary of Quebec was obliged to sue the guardian of the young Bissot de Vincennes in order to be paid the price of his board and lodging. October 19, 1682, correcting a judgment of the Provost of Quebec, the Sovereign Council ordered Louis Jolliet, guardian of Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes to pay to the seminary of Quebec two years and a half of board at the rate of 230 livres a year and eighteen months at the rate of 150 livres a year.

On October 20, 1687, Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes showed to the Sovereign Council that, having reached the age of twenty years, and being on the point of going to France for a situation, it was necessary for him to have the government of his own property. He asked them to grant him his letters of the right of majority. The Sovereign Council ordered immediately the relatives of the young Bissot, paternal

**Pieces et Documents Relatifs a La Tenure Seigneuriale*, p. 297.

as well as maternal, to meet before the lieutenant general of the provost court to decide if he was capable of controlling and administering his property.*

What was this employment that Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes went to seek in France? The ambition of the sons of good family under the French régime was to serve as officers in the troops of the detachment of marines. In 1687 our old friend the intendant Talon held a place of confidence at court. We have no written proof of it, but is it not reasonable to presume that the young Bissot went to France to obtain the high influence of his godfather to enter the army?

On October 25, 1694, Jean-Baptiste Bissot sold to Louis Marchand all the rights which he might have in the land and seigniorship of Mingan, not only his share in his father's estate, the late François Bissot de la Rivière, of whom he was an eighth heir, but also that which he might have later after the death of his mother, plus the free half in the land and seigniorship of Vincennes. This sale was made under the charge of rights and duties under which things sold could be charged for the future and the price of 2,500 livres which the purchaser Marchand promised to pay, 1,000 livres in one year, 1,000 in two years and 500 in three years.*

On March 21, 1695, Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes, eighth part heir in the succession of the late François Bissot de la Rivière, his father, sold to Etienne Charest, his brother-in-law, all that belonged and reverted to him in the land,

*Jugements Et Deliberations Du Conseil Souverain, vol. 111, p. 189.

*Acte de Chambalon, October 25, 1694. There was evidently a subsequent transaction between Louis Marchand and Jean-Baptiste Bissot, since the latter remained in possession of the seigniorship of Vincennes, and since 15 years later, July 10, 1709, he sold his rights in the seigniorship of Mingan to François Bissonnet, wig maker of Montreal.

Lauzon. M. Bissot de Vincennes reserved for himself only buildings, mill and tannery of Point Levy and on the coast of the part which belonged to him in the seven islands and the land along the river of the Etchemins. This sale was made under the charge of the quit rent, the rents and the seignioral rights under which things sold could be charged toward the seignior of the place, and to acquit the seller of the standing debts of the succession of his father that could be claimed from him. M. Charest paid him moreover a sum of 500 livres.* The act of sale called M. Jean-Baptiste Bissot de

*Acte de Genaple, 21 Mars, 1695.

Vincennes "ensign in the detachment of the Marine in this country."

In 1696 the military authorities of the colony gave to the minister their opinion about the officers who served in the troops of the detachment of the Marine. M. de Vincennes was sub-ensign and the postscript "Good Officer" was added to his name.†

The governor of Frontenac had always been of the opinion that the best means of making the tribes of the west fight against the Iroquois was to keep up garrisons at Michilimackinac and at the posts which were dependent on it. He wrote to the minister if these garrisons are deserted, it will be impossible to control these tribes. In September, 1696, the ambassadors of the different tribes of the west met M. de Frontenac at Quebec. He spoke to the delegates of each one of these tribes through interpreters and dismissed them saying to them: "I do not at all wish that you should return to your home empty handed. Here are guns, powder and balls which I give you. Make good use of them. They are not for slaying beef and the roe buck, but they are to kill the Iroquois

†L'abbé Daniel, *Aperçu Sur Quelques Contemporains*, p. 44.

who lack much more than you powder and lead. Remember that there is nothing but war which can make true men noteworthy, and war it is which brings it about that I recognize you by your name. Nothing pleases me so much as to see the face of a warrior. This is what I give you. You can go when you will."

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Then profiting by the favorable disposition of the tribe, a little later M. de Frontenac sent M. d'Ailleboust d'Argenteuill to Michilimakinac and M. de Vincennes to the Miamis. The latter was to command the latter post.* M. de Vincennes received thus his first command, but it is evident that he had already made several journeys among the Miamis and that he had even lived for a time among them.

On November 14, 1704, M. de Ramezay, governor of Montreal, wrote to minister Pontchartrain: "There is reason to presume that the Sr. de Vincennes, petty officer, who was sent this summer to the Miamis by way of the Detroit river with three canoes laden with merchandise and brandy under the pretext of going to patch up the quarrels of the savages, and of others there which had been settled by M. de la Mothe, spoke of the same disorders. Whereas Sr. Rabiston, who descended from Detroit with fifteen men met the said Sr. de Vincennes ten miles from Montreal, and who on his arrival informed M. de Vaudreuil that he carried more than four hundred jugs of brandy, of which he made a great boast. It would have been easy to remedy this if the Sr. de Vincennes had exceded his orders. He only had to send a canoe to look for him which could have reached him in a day since the Sr. de Vincennes was at the bottom of a cedar-covered hill, where it was necessary to make portages of everything that was in

*De la Potherie, *Histoire De L'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. 111, p. 309.

the canoes, which brought it about that he could not advance. But instead of going to the source to prevent his wrong doing he contended himself by feigning to be very angry. Since this affair caused much comment he said publicly that he would have him punished on his return. You will notice, Monseigneur, if you please, that brandy sells at Michilimakinac for forty and fifty francs a jug; Vincennes would therefore thus have gained 20,000 livres or 10,000 ecus. He ran little risk of losing his rank of petty officer in a place where little was heard of the court. Since M. de Vaudreuil's administration may be extremely prejudicial to the colony it is none the less so for the government. One might almost say that there will be no more peace. The Jesuits have refound their kingdom.*

On November 14, 1704, M. de Lamothe-Cadillac sent to Minister Pontchartrain a memoir on the establishment of Detroit. Lamothe-Cadillac used the method of question and answer. The minister was supposed to inquire and Lamothe-Cadillac replied. In spite of its interest this memoir is too long to be reproduced here in its entirety. We will content ourselves in taking out of it the passages which relate to M. de Vincennes.

"Answer. It is easy to see, Monseigneur, that you wish to be instructed. I admire your patience which never tires concerning that which relates to the service of the king. If that which I have had the honor to relate to you merits any attention the things of which you are about to be informed deserve all your attention. This now is the very plan which has been made to destroy Detroit, however I would not dare go on if you did not order me to do it.

"Question. You may do it and count on my protection

*Archives du Canada, Correspondence Generale, Vol. 22.

provided only that you make no false accusation and do not alter the truth in any respect.

"Answer. I never depart from that principle. I have never had any patron saint other than the truth itself, and I have such great confidence in her that I believe myself invincible as long as I fight under her standards. I am about then to expose to you the facts on which you can draw whatever conclusions please you. The public has drawn its own."

Then M. de Lamothe-Cadillac speaks of M. de Tonty, of M. d'Ailleboust de Manthet and of M. de la Decouvert. He then goes on to M. de Vincennes.

"The fourth case is that the Sieur de Vincennes was sent to the Miamis with an order to go to Detroit, being sent to Sr. de Tonty, the said Sr. de Vincennes having three canoes laden with merchandise and more than four hundred jugs of brandy, under the pretext of going to terminate the war begun by the Miamis-Ouyatatanon against the nations settled at Detroit and against the Iroquois. Observation on the fourth act.

This quarrel being settled both M. the Governor General and the intendant were informed that it was not natural to send ensigns to settle the differences between nations in a post where there was a commandant named by the court. That is why, there being a question about the sending of Sr. de Vincennes, he told me that M the Governor General had his share in the merchandise which he was carrying. I declared to him as I talked to him that he had replied to me that he would discharge him because he had not permitted him to take more than two canoes.

The twelfth fact is that the Sr. de Vincennes was actually at Detroit with four hundred jugs of brandy where he had a cabaret, having been the precursor of M. de Louvigny, major

of Quebec, brother-in-law of de Lino superintendent de Nolan, a dishonest clerk, a relative of Chatellereau, another clerk of Detroit and the Cr. de Louvigny who was himself convicted of having disobeyed the order of the king by an arrest of the council. The said Sr. de Vincennes has also been precursor of Sr. Vincelot a sub-delegate of M. l'Intendant, who informed me that in spite of my order not only had brandy not been spared to corrupt the savages but they had not done what they had been desired to do. This pretended sub-delegate was a first cousin of Seignior Pinaud who is my partner and belonging to a race of which I have already spoken.*

November 16, 1704, M. de Vaudreuil wrote to Minister Pontchartrain: "I know Mgr. that your intention and the welfare of the service of the king demands that neutrality with the Iroquois nations be maintained as much as is possible. I dare moreover to assure you that I give to it every care, and that I moreover dare to hope to succeed in spite of all the efforts which the English are making to embroil them with us, having found the secret of persuading the upper nations, our allies, to begin war with them in order to oblige us to declare ourselves and to take part. Since this affair is of the utmost importance, we have believed, Sr. de Beauharnois and I, that we ought not to neglect anything which would arrest the consequences of it, and following this plan we have had the honor to inform you in our common letter that we sent Sr. Vaillant and Sr. de Jonquaire to the Sonnontouans, and that I sent Sr. Vincennes to the Miamis, to whom I gave my orders and speeches to make to them for me. Sr. de Vincennes was formerly commandant among the Miamis by

*Archives du Canada, Correspondance generale, vol 22; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol. IX, p. 759.

whom he was very much loved; for this reason I chose him in preference to another to make this nation realize the wrong they had done in attacking the Iroquois, our allies and theirs, without any other object. We permitted, Sr. de Beauharnois and I, the Sr. de Vincennes to take with him certain goods and six men and two canoes to make more speed.

Sr. de Lamothe coming from Detroit informed us that he had met Sr. de Vincennes with three canoes and two men in addition. This disobedience to the orders which I had given him made me decide immediately to punish him, and since he is a petty officer in the troops I resolved to discharge him, and even asked M. the intendant to obtain some information on the advice which had been given us. I still remain Mgr., of this opinion, if the generous action which he has just done in Detroit and of which we told you in our letter does not oblige me to write to you in his favor and demand grace for him."

Speech of the Marquis de Vaudreuil sent to the Miamis of the river St. Joseph through the agency of M. de Vincennes:

"1. I arrive here, my brothers, to represent your father, to tell you that he is surprised that the Miamis, whom he regarded as the most obedient of his children, have disobeyed his orders. Tell me then, are you drunk; have you lost your mind?

"Ought you not to remember what we said when we made a general peace with all the nations, that in the future you would hunt peaceably, and that you would take the Iroquois for your brothers, and that you would have but one fire, one dish, one belt, one knife, and that you would drink together the same soup every time that you met? You have however broken your word; you have reddened the earth with the blood

of the Iroquois. I come then to demand of you why you have broken your word, since he received you so well last winter in his hunting cabins.

"2. I know, my brothers, that you received the first blow, but you knew well enough that it was not the Iroquois who had struck, but those brothers of the wolves, the English, and when the Iroquois had struck you you ought to have come to complain as you had all decided. You ought to have imitated the Iroquois who allowed themselves to be struck by you without defending themselves, and were content to carry their complaint to their father Onontio.

"3. I come to bring back to you the mind which you have lost and to show you your own interests. In order to appease your father, begin by sending me instantly all the Iroquois prisoners which are with your nation, and above all those which were taken last winter.

"4. Take also the necessary measures to satisfy your brother the Iroquois. He has a right to complain of you, and you know well enough the wrong which you have done. Do it in such a way that I may hear no more talk about it, because I cannot be prevented from executing the terms of the peace which you ought to remember. Reflect on this speech."*

Nov. 17, 1704, MM. de Vaudreuil and de Beauharnois wrote to Minister Pontchartrain: "The neutrality of the Iroquois being, Mgr., the subject in this country, to which we ought to give the closest attention, in order to preserve tranquility, we have believed that we ought to neglect nothing in order to content these nations and to hold them in our interest. Since the Tsonnontouans seemed to us the most devoted to the French we judged it fitting to send to them Sr.

*Archives du Canada, Correspondance, generale, vol. 22.

de Jonquaire and Father Vaillant. Sr. de Vaudreuil detached Sr. de Vincennes, officer, who had formerly been in command of the Miamis, and by whom he was still loved, to find out the reasons they had had for attacking the Tsonnontouans, our allies and theirs, and to make them give to the latter the satisfaction which was their due. * * *

"Sr. Tonty, Mgr., who is in command at Detroit in the absence of Sr. de Lamothe, advised us four days ago that a Ottawa chief named Campanie who had taken out the party against the Iroquois at Missilimakinac and who had made the prisoners which he had taken from the Iroquois, and that attack on Fort Frontenac had passed his fort with six he had even had the effrontery to give the death-cry outside the fort with the apparent design of causing the savages who are of his nation to declare themselves for him. Sr. de Tonty realizing the slight which he was putting the French by this action, and knowing moreover our intentions judged it proper, Mgr., to send Sr. de Vincennes to this savage, the same man whom Sr. de Vaudreuil had detached to go to the Miamis in order to settle the war which had just been kindled between these two nations. He at the head of twenty Frenchmen brought back four of their prisoners, although almost thirty Ottawas from the fort had gone there to take the part of their people. Sr. de Tonty received the two others the next day and this affair was more advantageous to us because without counting our obligations to the Iroquois it made all the nations realize that we could not allow anyone to mistreat our allies in our presence. In addition to the fact that at the same time there were at Detroit some Miamis who had come to take back three of their prisoners, as the Sr. de Vaudreuil had commanded them, and to whom it was of consequence to make known that they were not the only ones whom we obliged to make satisfaction.

"The action of the Sr. de Vincennes seems so fine that in spite of the advice which had been given to Sr. de Vaudreuil and de Beauharnois that he had disobeyed the orders written in his pass-port, and concerning whom Sr. de Vaudreuil had begged Sr. de Beauharnois to get information before forming himself the resolution to take from him on his return the rank of petty officer which had been bestowed upon him. They could not but see the need they had of him on account of the influence which he had over the minds of the savage Miamis, the services which he had rendered and the deed which he had just done. They must show you, Mgr., that they hope that you will approve their intention of pardoning him."

October 19, 1705, Governor de Vaudreuil wrote to the minister: "I had the honor last year of bringing to your attention the fact that I regarded the continuation of peace with the Iroquois as the principal affair of this country, and since it is on this principle that I have always worked, it is also this which obliged me to send Sr. Jonquaire to the Tsonnon-touans, Sr. de Vincennes to the Miamis, and which obliged me last spring to send Sr. de Louvigny to Missilimakinac to bring back from there prisoners which these savages had taken from the Iroquois at Fort Frontenac in the autumn. * * *

"The Iroquois chiefs arrived at Montreal about the beginning of August and staid there until the 14th, when, having no news, I resolved to send them away and to send them back their prisoners for this purpose. * * *

"The Iroquois started to return to their country when Sr. de Vincennes arrived and told me that he had come down with one of the chiefs of Missilimakinac who was sending him ahead to find out if they could appear before me in order that they might confess their shortcomings, and detail the

manner in which they pretended to give satisfaction to the Iroquois. The speeches of the one and the others with my reply will give you information of all that passed at Montreal during their stay until they went away entirely content, after I had given them all a banquet to renew their ancient alliance. It gave me indeed a veritable satisfaction to have accomplished your orders."

June 9, 1705, the minister blamed M. de Vaudreuil severely for having sent M. de Vincennes among the Miamis and M. de Louvigny to Missilimakinac, since both of them carried on commerce openly. M. de Louvigny, said the minister, had been punished, and M. de Vincennes ought to be likewise. Far from doing it they had kept in a dungeon for six months the man named Neveu, who had denounced him.*

June 17, 1705, the king had a letter written to M. de Vaudreuil: "His majesty has seen what he has written on the subject of the Sr. de Vincennes. His majesty desires that in consideration of the good action which he has done in rescuing the Iroquois from the hands of the Ottawas who had taken them prisoner, that they pardon the offense which he committed in carrying brandy in defiance of Sr. de Vaudreuil on the voyage which he had made at his orders to the Miami."

June 9, 1706, Minister de Pontchartrain wrote to M. de Vaudreuil: "The acknowledgment which you make of having permitted Srs. de Manthet, de la Decouverte and Vincennes to take with them some merchandise on the voyages which they gave made for you in the upper country is sufficient to have given reason to the belief that they have carried on commerce, above all, the said Sr. de la Decouverte, who is

*Edouard Richard, *Supplement du Rapport du Dr. Brymuer sur les Archives Canadiennes*, 1899, p. 375.

an arrant traitor. Therefore, I beg of you to refrain as much as you can from sending him into this country, since the service demands absolutely that you choose for sending there people of whose fidelity you are sure."

June 30, 1707, Minister Pontchartrain finding that without doubt M. de Vincennes had been sufficiently punished, wrote to M. de Vaudreuil to reestablish him in his duties: "I have seen that to which you call my attention in relation to the subject of the commerce which it is pretended that the Srs. de Louvigny and de Vincennes have carried on among the Miamis and the Missillimakinacs. I hope that what I have written to you about it will cause you to give more attention to the conduct of those whom you send to distant posts, and that his majesty will receive no more complaints about their trading. His majesty desires that you reestablish Vincennes in his duties of petty ensign which you have taken away from him.*

July 10, 1709, Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes sold to François Bissonnet, merchant wig maker, living at Montreal, the part and contingent portions reverting to him in the entire extent of the concession belonging to his father and mother situated on the river St. Lawrence, from l'Ile aux Oeufs to Blanc-Sablons, with all the islands of Mingan and others contained in all of the said extent. This sale was made under the charges and reversions which this portion of the concession could owe to the king at each change of ownership, and for the sum of 150 livres.

In 1712 the Foxes formed a plot with the Five Nations and the English to drive the French from Detroit. The Mascoutins and Kikapous were also of the party. M. de Du Buisson commanded at Detroit replacing M. de La Forest, successor to M. Lamonthe-Cadillac, retained at Quebec. This

*Archives du Canada, Serie B. 29, 1.

officer was brave and experienced, but he had under his order only thirty French; and to crown the disaster, the Ottawas and the Hurons, their intimate friends at Detroit, had not yet returned from their hunting expedition. The situation was critical. On May 13, 1712, M. de Vincennes arrived at Detroit from among the Miamis. He was a powerful aid to M. Du Buisson. The two brave officers conquered the Foxes, but after much weariness and prodigies of valor on the part of the little garrison under their orders. In a letter dated Detroit, June 15, 1712, M. Du Buisson relates the whole event to M. de Vaudreuil.

"As I have believed that it was of great consequence to inform you of the state of this post, by a canoe, as quickly as possible. I have requested M. de Vincennes to make this voyage, having assured him that this would be pleasing to you, persuaded, as I am Mgr., that you are very solicitous to know what goes on here. The fatigue I undergo day and night in consequence of the public and private councils that I hold with the Indians preventing me from sending you a detailed account of all the circumstances. M. de Vincennes has promised to forget nothing which has passed in order to communicate it all to you.

"The destruction of two Mascoutin and Outagamie villages is one of the principal reasons which induces me to send this canoe. God has permitted these two audacious nations to perish. They had received many presents and some belts from the English to destroy the post of Fort Pontchartrain, to cut our throats and those of some of our allies, of whom the Hurons and Ottawas lived on the Detroit river. Then these wretches were to go back among the English and to devote themselves to them in order to continually to do harm. It is said that the band of Ouinetouan and that of Makate-

mangouas have been received among the Iroquais and have established a village among them. This information has been brought by three canoes of Ottagamies who have been defeated by the Chippeways, within four leagues of this post. I fear much for the safety of M. de Laforest, because being no doubt upon his march to this place, he may fall in with some of these bands of the hostile Ottagamies who have joined the Iroquois. The band of the great chief, Lamyma and that of the grand chief Pemoussa came early in the spring and encamped, in spite of my opposition, about fifty paces from my fort, never willing to listen to me, speaking always with much insolence and calling themselves the masters of all this country. It was necessary for me to be very mild having as you know, M., but thirty Frenchmen with me, and wishing to keep with me eight of the Miamis who were with M. de Vincennes, and also to sow our grain and pasture our cattle. Besides, the Ottawas and Hurons had not come in from their winter hunt. I was thus exposed every day to a million insults. The fowls, pigeons and other animals belonging to the French were killed without their daring to say a word, and for myself I was in no condition openly to declare my intentions. One of them entered my fort to stab one of the inhabitants named la Jeunesse and a grown daughter of Roy, another inhabitant. I could then no longer restrain myself, but took arms to prevent their accomplishing their wicked intention. I compelled them to retire immediately, in order not to give them time to increase their party, since they also were waiting for the Kickapoos, their allies, that they might together execute their nefarious project and be strong enough to retire, fearing nothing, to the English and Iroquois. These wretches waited but for a favorable moment to set fire to the fort and to over-power us. It was an entirely different matter when

they learned that the Mascoutins who had wintered on the headwaters of the St. Joseph had been killed, to the number of 150 souls, mens, women and children, by Saguisma, a war chief of the Ottawas and Pottawatamies. They immediately determined to set fire to an Ottawa cabin which was near the gate of my fort. I was informed of their intention by an Ottagami Indian named Joseph, who long since left his people and devoted himself entirely to the French. It was from him I learned all that passed in the village of the Ottagamies and the Mascoutins. He had the honor to be presented to you, M., last year at Montreal. He informed me also that I was to be burned in my own fort, and I immediately sent a French canoe to the winter hunting ground of the Ottawas and the Hurons to request them to hasten and come to join me. I sent also another canoe to the other side of the lake to invite the Chippaways, the Mississagues and the Amiquois to join my party.

The church and M. Mallet's house were outside the fort, and all the grain supply of our savages was stored there. The contrary winds which blew all the time prevented all the savages who were our allies from arriving, which troubled me much, as I felt myself hard pressed. I encouraged the few Frenchmen who were with me immediately to bring the wheat into the fort. And it was well we did so, for two days later I would have had no supplies except for the moment, and it would have been necessary to skirmish in order to take possession of it, and much of it would even have been pillaged from us. The most important thing was to pull down as quickly as possible the church, the storehouse and some other houses which were near my fort, and so close that the enemy could have succeeded in setting fire to the fort whenever they wanted to. And besides it was important to clear the place in order

to defend ourselves in case of an attack which very soon took place. We must return a thousand thanks to the Lord. We should have been lost if I had not formed this intention. I put on the best countenance I could, encouraging the French, who were in consternation, believing themselves surely lost. The fear I entertained, that some accident might happen to the French who had not yet arrived and the necessity of sowing our grain and pasturing our cattle, prevented me from refusing them permission to enter my fort to trade, for fear they should suspect that I knew their pernicious object. The only thing I could do was to tell them that I apprehended that the Miamis, who knew that I permitted them to remain so near, would make war upon me, and therefore I was about to repair my fort. They did not appear to give much credit to my assertions.

It was necessary to fire our guns occasionally in order to get some logs which were outside the fort and of which they had taken possession. I set about, as quickly as possible, to repair the fort, with those which I succeeded in taking away from them. And I succeeded in strengthening it perfectly well with material from the houses. I employed a ruse to obtain possession of a pigeon-house which they wished to keep, which might have given us much trouble and caused us much loss of life. I placed it immediately opposite their fort and pierced it with loop holes. I mounted two swivels on two great logs of wood to serve as cannon in case of necessity.

The 13th of May, While I was impatiently waiting the arrival of my allies, whom I had sent out to find, who were the only aid I could expect, M. de Vincennes, arrived from among the Miamis with seven or eight Frenchmen. He brought me no news of the savages whom I was awaiting, which gave me much trouble, as I now did not know on what Saint to call.

But heaven watched over our preservation, and when I least expected it there entered a Huron all breathless who said to me: "My father, I ask to speak to you in secret. I am sent to you by our old men." There were then in their villages but seven or eight men, it seems that everything which happened was miraculous, for all the others, arrived two hours afterwards and the Ottawas also. The messenger said "God has pity on you. He desires that your enemies and ours should perish. I bring you news that four men have just arrived at our fort, not daring to enter yours on account of the Ottagamies and Mascoutins who surround you. Makisabie, war chief of the Pottawatamies the brother of Tekamasinon and two others desire to speak to you. I begged M. de Vincennes to meet them and he recognized the four Indians. He came an hour later to reply to me and told me on the part of Makisabie that 600 men would soon arrive to aid me, and to eat those miserable nations who had troubled all the country. That it was necessary to keep myself on guard against being surprised by the Ottagamies and Mascoutins who might learn of the arrival of this assistance.

I begged M. de Vincennes to return to the Huron fort and to find out from Makisabie if he could not find means to satisfy himself with driving away the Mascoutins and the Ottagamies and compelling them to return to their former villages which was, Monsieur, your intention. But this could not be done, for the Hurons were too much enraged. This great affair had been too well concerted during the whole autumn and winter with all the nations, and presents had been given. M. de Vincennes perceiving that it would only irritate the Hurons to speak of a reconciliation, dropped the subject, the more readily as they said these wicked men had never kept their word. We could only then be silent and put the best face

on the affair, while we fought with them against our common enemy. The Hurons even reproached us with being tired of living, since we knew the bad intentions of the Ottagamies and the Mascoutins. They said it was absolutely necessary to destroy them and to extinguish their fire, and it was your intention they should perish. They knew your views on this subject at Montreal.

M. de Vincennes returned and told me it was useless to talk of any reconciliation. And in truth I well knew that it was a cause for fear to have so many nations around us of whose good intentions we were not certain. I therefore closed the gates of the fort and divided my few Frenchman into four brigades, each having its brigadier. I inspected their arms and amunition, and assigned them their stations on the bastions. I put four of them into the redoubt I have just constructed. I placed some of them at the two curtains where there was the most to fear, armed with drawn swords. My two cannon were all ready with slugs of iron prepared to load them, which had been made ready by the blacksmith. Our reverend father, on his side, bestirred himself, holding himself ready to give a general absolution in case of need, and to succor the wounded if perchance there should be any. He communicated also the Sacred Host.

Every arrangement being made and while we were waiting with impatience I was informed that there were many people in sight. I immediately ascended a bastion and casting my eyes toward the woods I saw the army of the nations of the South coming from that direction. They were the Illinois, the Missouris, the Osages and other nations still more remote. There were also with them the Ottawa chief, Saguma, and also the Potawatamies, the Saks, and some Menomenies. Detroit never saw so many people. It is surprising how much

all these nations are angered against the Mascoutins and the Ottagamies. This army marched in good order, with as many flags as there were different nations, and it proceeded directly to the fort of the Hurons, who said to the head chief of this army "You must not encamp. Affairs are too pressing. We must enter immediately into our father's fort and fight for him. Since he has always had pity on us and since he loves us, we ought to die for him. Do you not see that smoke also? There are three women of your village, Saguma, who are burning there, and your wife is among them." Not another word was necessary. There arose a great cry and at the same time they all began to run headlong. The Hurons and the Ottawas of this place at their head. The Ottagamies and Mascoutins raised also their war cry and about forty of them rushed from their fort all naked and painted, brandishing their arms in every direction to meet our men and defying them in order to make them believe that they feared them not at all. They were obliged however to retreat immediately and to return to their village. Our Indians asked my permission to enter my fort, which I granted, seeing that they were much excited. It was my plan to have them encamp near the woods, that they might not be troublesome. All the Indian chiefs assembled on the parade ground of my fort and spoke to me as follows:

"My father, I speak to you on the part of all the nations your children who are before you. What you did last year in drawing their flesh from the fire, which the Ottagamies were about to roast and eat, well merits that we should bring you our bodies, to make you master of them and to do all that you wish. We do not fear death, when it is necessary to die for you. We only beg that you pray the father of all nations to have pity on our women and children, in case we lose our life with you. We beg that you throw a blade of grass

upon our bones to protect them from the flies. You see, my father, that we have left our villages, our women and our children to come as quickly as possible to join you. We hope that you will have pity on us, that you will give us something to eat and a little tobacco to smoke. We have come from a distance and are destitute of everything. We hope that you will give us powder and balls to fight with you. We don't make a great speech. We perceive that we fatigue you and the French by the ardor which you show for the fight."

I immediately answered them briefly: "I thank you my children; the desire which you have to come and offer to die with me is very agreeable to me and causes me much pleasure, I recognize you as true children of the governor. I shall not fail to render him an account of all you have done for me today. You need not doubt that when any question respecting your interests arises he will busy himself about it with much ardor. I receive orders from him constantly to watch continually for the preservation of his children. With regard to your needs, I know that you want everything. The fire which has just taken place is unlucky for you as well as for we; I will, however, do all I can to provide you with what is most necessary. I invite you to live in peace, union and good will together as well among your different nations as with my Frenchmen. This will be the best means of enabling us entirely to defeat our common enemies. Take courage then. Repair your tomahawks, your bows and your arrows and especially your guns. I shall presently distribute powder and balls among you, and then we will attack our enemies. This is all I have to say to you."

All the Indians uttered a loud cry of joy and of thanks, saying: "Our enemies are dead from the present moment. The heavens begin to grow clear and the Master of Life has pity on us."

All the old men made harangues throughout the entire fort to encourage the warriors, telling them to listen well to my words and to obey me in all the manoeuvres that I was about to have them perform. I distributed immediately powder and ball among them and then we all together raised the war cry. The very earth trembled. The enemy, who were not more than a pistol shot away, raised also their war cry. At the same time the guns were immediately discharged on both sides and the balls flew like hail. We had to do as our Indians did, in order to encourage them. The powder and balls which you had the goodness to send us last autumn did not last long. I was obliged to have recourse to the three barrels that M. de Lamothe left with a certain Roy to sell, leaving me not a single grain when he went away for the defense of the fort in case of an attack. All mine was exhausted, which had gone but a little way, as well as a quantity which I had been obliged to purchase from some of the French people.

I held the Ottagamies and the Mascoutins in a state of siege during nineteen days, wearing them out by a continual fire night and day. In order to avoid our fire they were obliged to dig holes four or five feet deep in the ground and to shelter themselves there. I had erected two large scaffolds twenty feet high the better to fire into their villages. They could not go out for water. Hunger and thirst exhausted them. I had from four to five hundred men who blockaded their village, day and night, so that no one could go out to seek assistance. All of our Indians went to hide at the edge of the wood whence they continually returned with prisoners who were coming to join their people not knowing they were besieged. Their pastime was to shoot them or to fire arrows at them and burn them.

The enemy which I had held besieged, thinking to intimidate me and by this means to oblige me to leave the field open to them, covered their palisades with scarlet blankets and then shouted to me that they wished that the earth was all covered with blood. These red blankets were the mark of it. They hoisted twelve red blankets as standards in twelve different places of their village. I well knew that these signals were English, and they fought for them. This indeed they shouted to me, speaking from one fort to the other. They said they had no father but the English, and told all the nations, our allies, that they would do much better to quit our side and join theirs.

The great war chief of the Pottawatamies after having asked my advice and permission, mounted one of my scaffolds and spoke to our enemies in the name of all our nations in these words: "Wicked nations that you are; you hope to frighten us by all that red color which you show in your village. Learn that if the earth is covered with blood, it will be with yours. You speak to us of the English. They are the cause of your destruction, because you have listened to their bad council. They are the enemies of prayer, and it is for that reason that the Master of Life chastises them as well as you, wicked men that you are. Don't you know as well as we do that the Father of all the nations, who is at Montreal, sends continually parties of his children against the English to make war upon them, and that they take so many prisoners that they do not know where to put them? These English who are cowards only defend themselves secretly by killing men by that wicked drink brandy, which has caused so many men to die immediately after drinking it. Thus we shall see what will happen to you too for having listened to their words."

I was obliged to stop this conversation perceiving that the enemy had asked my permission to speak only to divert us and to have a little time to go for water. Thirst distressed them much. I ordered our great fire to recommence, which was so violent that we killed more than thirty men and some women who had secretly gone out for water. I lost, that day in my fort, twelve men, who were killed by our enemies. In spite of me, the enemy had taken possession of a house, where they had erected a scaffold, behind the gable-end which was made of earth. Our rifle balls could not penetrate this defense and thus every day some of our people were killed. This obliged me to raise upon one of my scaffolds the two large logs upon which were mounted my swivels. I loaded them with slugs and caused them to be fired upon the gable-end which troubled me so much. The first two discharges carried so successfully that we heard the scaffold which they had built back of the gable fall in ruins and some of the enemy were killed there. They were so frightened by this shooting of the cannon that we heard them utter cries and frightful groans, and toward evening they called out to beg that I would allow them to come and speak to me. Immediately I assembled the chiefs of the nations who were with me to find out their opinion, and we all agreed that we ought to let them come, in order by some statagem, to try and withdraw from their hands three women of our people whom they had made prisoners some days before the siege, one of whom was the wife of the great chief Saguima. I shouted to them through my interpreter that they might come in safety to speak to me, as I was perfectly willing to give them that satisfaction before they died.

They did not fail the next morning to come. We were very much surprised not to see their red flags in the village,

but only a white one. The great chief Pemoussa was the head of this first embassy. He came out of his village with two other savages, a white flag in his hand. I sent my interpreter to bring him to me and to protect him from insult from any young warrior. He entered my fort. I placed him in the middle of the parade-ground and then I assembled all the chiefs of the nations, who were with me, to hear all together. The ambassador spoke in these words, presenting a belt of wampum and two slaves: "My father I am dead. I see very well that heaven is clear and beautiful for you alone, and that for me it is all dark. When I left my village I hoped that you would listen to me. I beg of you, my father, by this belt which I lay at your feet, that you have pity on your children, and that you do not refuse them the two days, that they ask you, in which there shall be no firing on either side, that our old men may hold a council to find means of softening your spirit. It is to you that I now speak, you other children obeying the word of our father. This belt is to pray you to remember that you are our kindred. If you shed our blood, remember that it is also your own. I pray you to soften the heart of our father, whom we have so often angered. These two slaves are to replace, perhaps, a little blood which you may have lost. I speak to you only these few words until our old men take council together, if you grant us the two days that I ask of you."

This, Monsieur, is what I replied to him: "If your hearts were a little moved and if you truly considered the governor as your father you would have begun by bringing to me the three women whom you hold as prisoners. Not having done this, I believe your hearts are still bad. If you wish that I listen to you, begin by bringing them to me. This is all I have to say."

All the chiefs who were with me cried aloud: "My father, after what you have just said we have nothing to reply to this ambassador. Let him obey you if he wishes to live."

The ambassador replied: "I am only a child; I shall return to my village to render an account to our old men."

Thus finishing the council, I gave him three or four Frenchmen to take him back, assuring him that we would not fire during the entire day, as their old men had requested, on condition that no one should leave the village to seek water, and if any one saw them do it the truce should be at an end and we would fire upon them immediately.

Two hours after two Mascoutin chiefs and a third, an Ottagami, came, flag in hand, with the three women in question. I made them enter the same place that the first had entered, where were assembled all our savage chiefs. These three messengers spoke as follows: "My father, here are these three morsels of flesh you ask of us. We have not eaten them, thinking you would call us to account for it. Do what you please with them. You are the master. Now we, the Mascoutins and the Ottagamies, beg that you cause all the nations who are with you to retire in order that we be free to seek provisions for our women and children. Many die every day of hunger and of distress. All our village regrets that we have angered you. If you are as good a father as all your children, who are around you say you are, you will not refuse the favor we ask of you."

Since I had the three women whom I asked, I did not care longer to parley with them; I therefore answered: "If you had eaten my flesh, which you have brought to me, you would not be living at this moment. You would have felt such terrible blows that they would have forced you into the earth so deep that no one would any longer speak of

you. So true is it that I love the flesh of the father of all the nations. With regard to the liberty which you demand of me, I leave it to my children to answer you. Therefore I speak no more."

The head chief of the Illinois, whose name is Makouandebý, was appointed by the chiefs of the other nations to speak in these words: "My father, we thank you for all your kindness to us. We thank you for it, and since you give us permission to speak, we shall do so."

And then, addressing the hostile chiefs, he said: "Now listen to me, ye nations who have troubled all the earth. We well see, in all your words, that you seek only to surprise our father and to deceive him again, in asking that he would cause us to retire. We should no sooner do so than you would again torment our father. You would inevitably shed his blood. You are dogs who have always bitten him. You have never been sensible to the favors which you have received from all the French. You have believed, wretches that you are, that we did not know all the commands you have received from the English, to cut the throats of our father, and of his children here, and then to lead the English into this country. Go away then. For us we will not stir a step; we wish to die with our father; and if he should tell us to go away from you, we would disobey him, because knowing your wicked heart, we do not want to leave him alone with you. We shall see from this moment who are to be masters, you or we. You have only now to retire, and as soon as you shall reenter your fort we shall begin our fire."

I sent an escort to conduct the ambassadors to their fort, and we began to fire again as usual. We were three or four days without communication, firing constantly and briskly on

both sides. The enemy discharged their arrows so rapidly that more than three or four hundred were flying in the air at the same time. At their ends were lighted bombs and others with fuses of powder with the object of setting us on fire as they had threatened to do. I found myself very much embarrassed. Their arrows fell in every direction on the houses, which were only covered with straw, so that the fire caught here and there, which so frightened the French that they thought they were lost. I reassured them, telling them that this was nothing, and that we must find a remedy as quickly as possible. "Come then," said I to them, "take courage, let us take the thatch from the houses and let us cover them with bear skins and deer skins; the Indians will help us." I then had them bring in two large wooden pirogues in which I poured twenty barrels of water and provided swabs at the end of rods to extinguish the fire, if it should catch anywhere, and hooks to pull out the arrows. I had four or five Frenchmen wounded. I fell into another embarrassment much greater than this first one. My Indians became discouraged, and wanted to go away, a part of them saying that we should never conquer this nation. That they knew them well, and that they were braver than any of the rest: that besides I could no longer furnish them with provisions sufficient for their subsistence. The inconstancy of these nations ought to teach us how dangerous it is to leave a post so distant as this without troops. I then saw myself on the point of being abandoned and left a prey to our enemies, who would not have given us any quarter and the English would have triumphed. The French were so frightened that they said to me that they saw clearly that it was necessary that we should retire as quickly as possible to Michilimakinac. I said to them: "What are you thinking of? Can you en-

certain such sentiments? Can you abandon the post in such a cowardly manner? Dismiss from your minds, my friends, so evil a design. Do things appear to you so bad that you should fear so greatly? You ought to know that if you had done such a thing as to abandon me that the Governor General would pursue you everywhere to punish you for your cowardice. What the Indians have just said ought not to frighten you. I am going to speak to all the chiefs in private and inspire them with new courage. Therefore change your views and let me act. You will see that all will go well." They answered that they were only pretending to retreat without my consent and without me at their head, believing that they could not hold the place if the savages abandoned us. They begged me not to consider them faithless and assured me that they would keep on doing all that I wished of them. And truly I was afterwards very well content with them. They did their duty like brave people.

I was four days and four nights without any rest and without eating or drinking, striving all the time to secure to my interests all the young war chiefs, in order to keep them firm with me and to encourage all the warriors not to leave us until we had entirely defeated our enemies. To attain my end, I stripped myself of all I had, making presents to one and another. You know, Monsieur, that with the Indians one must not be niggardly. I flatter myself that you will have the goodness to approve all these expenditures, which for me are immense, and for the King of no consequence; for otherwise I should be much to be pitied, being burdened with a large family which causes me much expense at Quebec.

Having gained all the Indians in private, I held a general council to which I called all the nations and said to them: "What, my children, when you are just on the point of destroy-

ing this wicked nation, do you think of fleeing shamefully after having so well begun? Could you lift up your heads again? You would ever after be overwhelmed with confusion. All the other nations would say: 'Are these the brave warriors who fled so ignominiously after having abandoned the French?' Be not troubled; take courage; we will endeavor yet to find a few provisions. The Hurons and the Ottawas, your brothers, offer you some. As for me, I will do all I can to comfort you and aid you. Don't you see that only a thread holds your enemies? Hunger and thirst overpower them. We shall quickly make ourselves masters of their bodies. Will it not be very pleasant after this great defeat, when you visit Montreal, to receive there the caresses and the friendship of the father of all the Nations, who will thank you for having risked your lives with me? For you cannot doubt that in the report I shall make to him concerning all of this I shall render justice to each of you in particular, for all you have done for me. You must know also that to defeat this nation is to give that life and peace to your women and children which they have not yet enjoyed."

The young war chiefs whom I had gained did not give me time to finish, but said to me: "My father, allow us to interrupt you; we believe there is some liar who has told you falsehoods. We assure you that we all love you too much to abandon you, and that we are not such cowards as is reported. We are resolved, even if we are much more pressed with hunger, not to quit you till your enemies and ours are defeated." All the old men approved of these sentiments and said: "Rush to your arms and prove that those are liars who have reported evil of us to our fathers." Then they raised a great cry and sang the war song and danced the war dance, and a large party went out to fight.

Every day some Sacs who had formerly lived in the same village with the Ottagamies left their fort and came to join their people who were with me, who received them with much pleasure. They made known to us the condition of the village of our enemy, assuring us that they were reduced to the last extremity. That from sixty to eighty women and children had died from hunger and thirst, and that their bodies and the bodies of those who were killed every day had caused an infection in their camp since they did not dare make any attempt to bury them, on account of the heavy fire that we continually kept up.

Under these circumstances the enemy demanded permission to speak to us which we granted them. Their messengers were their two great chiefs, one of the village, the other of war, the first named Allamyma and the other Pamousa. With them came also two great Mascoutin chiefs, one named Kissis, and the other Ouabamanitou. The great chief Pamousa was at the head of the three others, having a crown of wampum on his head, many belts of wampum on his body and hanging over his shoulder. He was painted with green earth and accompanied by seven female slaves who were also painted and ornamented with wampum. The three other chiefs had each a chichicoy in their hand. All of them marched in order, singing and shouting with all their might, to the sound of their chichicoys, calling all the devils to their assistance and to have pity on them. They even had little figures of devils hanging from their girdles. They entered my fort in this manner among all the nations, our allies, and spoke as follows: "My father, I speak to you and to all the nations who are before you. I beg life from you. It is no longer ours. You have made yourselves masters of it. All the spirits have abandoned us. I bring you my flesh in the seven slaves whom I place at your feet. But do not believe I am afraid to die. It is the lives

of our women and children that I ask of you. I beg you to allow the sun to shine, let the sky be clear, that we may see the day and that hereafter our affairs may be prosperous. Here are six belts that we give you, which bind us to you as true slaves. We pray you to untie them as a sign that you give us life. Remember, all of you, that you are our great-nephews. Tell us something, I pray you, which can give pleasure on our return to our village."

I left it to our Indians to reply to these ambassadors. They had become in so short a time so enraged against them that they would not give them any answer. Eight or ten chiefs asked only to speak to me in private. "My father, we come to ask permission of you to break the heads of these four great chiefs. They are the men who prevent our enemies from surrendering at discretion. When these shall be no longer at their head they will find themselves much embarrassed and will surrender."

I told them that they ought to be very sure of themselves to make me such a proposition. "Remember that they came here upon my word and you have given me yours. We must act with good faith and if I accepted this proposition how in the future could you trust one another? M. the Governor General would never pardon me. Dismiss this from your mind. They must return peaceably. You see clearly that they cannot escape us since you are resolved not to give them quarter."

They confessed that I was right and that they were foolish. The ambassadors were dismissed in all safety, without, however, giving them any answer on that which they had come to ask of us. These poor wretches well knew there was no longer any hope for them.

I confess, Monsieur, that I was touched with compassion at their misfortune; but as war and pity do not well agree

together and particularly as I understood that they were paid by the English to destroy us, I abandoned them to their unfortunate fate. Indeed I hastened to have this tragedy finished in order that the example might strike terror to the English and their allies. The great fire recommenced more and more violently. The enemy, being in despair, since they were continually fired upon in their village and out of it, when they wished to go for water or to gather a few herbs to appease their hunger, had no other resource but an obscure night with rain to make their escape. They awaited it with much impatience and it came on the nineteenth day of the siege. They did not fail to make use of it, decamping about midnight and we were not aware of it until daybreak. I encouraged our people and they pursued them very vigorously. M. de Vincennes joined in the pursuit with some Frenchmen and this gave much pleasure to our Indians.

The enemy, not doubting that they would be pursued, stopped at a little peninsula which is opposite Hog Island near Lake St. Clair, four leagues from the fort, protecting themselves by tree branches cut across and logs cut lengthwise. Our people not perceiving this at all, pushed on into their retrenchment and lost there more than twenty men killed and wounded. It was necessary to begin a second siege and to encamp. The camp was regularly laid out. Every day a hundred canoes brought provisions. There were Ottawas, Hurons, Chippaways and Mississagues. The chief sent to me for my two cannon, all the axes and mattocks that I had to cut down the woods, that they might get through them, in order to approach the retrenchment of the enemy, and above all to furnish powder and balls. As for the Indian corn, tobacco and seasoning, they were supplied as usual without counting all the kettles of the French which were lost and for which I had to pay.

The enemy held their position for four days, fighting with much courage and finally, not being able to do anything more, surrendered at discretion to our people who gave them no quarter. All were killed except the women and children, whose lives were spared. One hundred and fifty men, who had been bound, escaped. All our allies returned to my fort with their slaves. Their pastime was to shoot four or five men every day. The Hurons did not give quarter to a single one of them. In this way, Monsieur, came to an end these two wicked nations of such evil intent that they troubled all the country. Our reverend father chanted a grand mass to render thanks to God for having preserved us from this enemy.

The Ottagamies and Mascoutins had built a very good fort, which, as I said before, was within pistol-shot of mine. Our people did not dare to undertake to storm it notwithstanding all I could say. There were three hundred men to defend it, and our loss would have been great. But the siege would not have been very long. Our Indians had lost sixty men, killed and wounded, thirty of whom had been killed in the fort and a Frenchman named Germain. Five or six others were wounded with arrows. The enemy lost a thousand souls, men, women and children.

I do not wish to forget to state to you that there were about twenty five Iroquois who had joined the Hurons of Fond-du-lac in this war. These two nations together distinguished themselves above all the others, therefore their loss has been greater. They have received many caresses from all the Indians and more particularly, since they have made satisfaction for an old quarrel by presents of slaves and pipes. It was I who brought them to this reconciliation. I dare venture to assure, you, Monsieur, that this general assembly of all the nations has put them at peace with one another and has renewed their ancient alliance. They all count on receiving

great presents which they say, Monsieur, you have promised them.

I have determined, with the consent of his nation to send to you, the grand chief of the Illinois from Rock Village. His name is Chachagouache. He is a good man and has much authority and I trust that you will induce him to make peace with the Miamis. This affair is of very great consequence. The Miamis having sent me word, that if it is not brought about, they will abandon their village and build another on the river Ohio at the end of Lake Erie. This is precisely where the English are about to build a fort, according to the belts they have sent to the nations. They also said they would be contented if you would send them, Monsieur, a garrison and a reverend Jesuit father and some presents that, they say, you promised them. Maquisabe, the Pottawatomi chief, has much influence over the mind of this Illinois chief. He goes with him. Joseph, who accompanies them, deserves your kindness. I have had much trouble to save his life.

I venture, Monsieur, to beg you to take care that the Indians who come with M. Vincennes return contented. Their visit secures this post. Saguina has written to me that M. Desliettes would not wait for him last spring, believing that it was through neglect poor Otchipouac died this winter. It is a loss for he had much firmness and was well disposed toward the French.

We have another difficult affair which threatens to be difficult. The Kickapoos, who live at the mouth of the Maumee, are about to make war upon us, now that our allies have left us; about thirty Mascoutins have joined them. A canoe of Kickapoos, who came from Detroit to speak to the three villages, has been destroyed by the Hurons and Ottawas. Among them was a great chief whose head was brought to me with the heads of three others. This blow was struck, out of resentment, because, last winter, they had taken prisoners from

among the Hurons and the Iroquois. Besides they considered him a true Ottagami. I believe that if M. de Vincennes had not been at the mouth of the Miami at the time the Kickapoos would have killed the two Hurons and the Iroquois. There was every probability of it. These same people took prisoner also, Langlois, who was on his return from the Miami country, and who carried many letters from the reverend Jesuit fathers at the Illinois villages. All these letters have been destroyed, which circumstance gives me much uneasiness as I am sure there were some for you from Louisiana. They dismissed this Langlois after robbing him of his peltry, telling him to return and tell them the news, but he had no more desire to do that, than I had to permit him. However, the Ottawas might safely send there. The Kickapoos have among them one of their women with her children. I will endeavor to prevail upon the Ottawas to join with the Hurons in order to make a reconciliation with this nation that we may have peace here.

All the nations have gone away peaceably with all their slaves. Saguina has left his village and gone to Michilimakinac. The Hurons also abandoned theirs and will either come here or go to the Illinois. More than half of the Ottawas of this place are going also to Michilimakinac. The Chipaways and the Mississaguas will go to Topicanich. They have not at all been disposed to give any satisfaction to the Miamis for the murder of last year with M. de Tonty. The Miamis insist upon knowing the reason why. I spare no trouble to induce them to be patient and to persuade them that I labor constantly for their interests.

I have the honor to inform you, Monsieur, that last autumn I accomplished a measure that M. de Lamothe could never effect during all the time that he was here, which was to compel the Ottawas to make a solid peace with the Miamis, and to compel them to visit the latter, which they have never

been willing to do. I succeeded very happily, the Miamis having received them as kindly as possible and they have made a strong alliance.

I flatter myself, Monsieur, that it will be agreeable to you to be assured that M. de Vincennes has faithfully performed his duty and that he has labored carefully here, as well as on his journey to the Miamis and Ouyatonons last winter.

If I am so happy, Monsieur, as to receive your approbation of my conduct, I shall be fully compensated for my trouble and shall experience no more dejection. My success has been owing to the great influence I have over the nations. M. de Vincennes is witness. I do not say this in order to gratify my vanity or to claim any credit for truly I am very tired of Detroit.

You can easily judge, Monsieur, in what a condition my affairs must be in consequence of having no presents belonging to the King in my hands. However, I dare to trust to your goodness and to hope that you will not suffer a poor devil to be reduced to beggary.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monsieur, your very humble and very obedient servant,

DUBUISSON.

Au Fort du Detroit, Pontchartrain, June 15, 1712.

In his memoirs sur le Canada, Gedeon de Catalogne describes thus the destruction of the Foxes at Detroit in 1712. It is at all times well to notice that M. de Catalogne was then at Quebec. He tells his story by hearsay. He was not an eye-witness. That explains the variations of his version from that of M. Buisson.

"It is well to know that when M. de Lamothe was at Detroit, wishing to attract the commerce of all the nations to his fort, he sent belts to the Mascoutins and the Kickapoos to invite them to set up their village at Detroit where a place was

offered them. They accepted his offer and having come to the number of about forty families, they made a fort in the place which was assigned to them.

"As this nation is feared and hated by the other nations, by reason of its arrogance, a conspiracy began to be stirred up against those who had settled at Detroit. And in 1712 S. de Buisson being in command at Detroit, the conspiring Hurons and the Outaouacs to the number of about 900 men repaired to the French fort, to whom this commander opened the door where they entered suddenly and ascending the bastions which looked out over the fort of the Foxes on whom they fired several rounds of musketry.

"One of the chiefs of the Foxes raised his voice and spoke to the French in these words: 'What does this mean? You have invited us to come and live near you and while your word is still fresh in our ears you declare war upon us. What reason have we given you for it? Apparently, my father, you no longer remember that there are no nations, among those who call themselves your children, who have not imbrued their hands in the blood of the French. I am the only one to whom you cannot make reproaches and yet you join our enemies to eat us up. But remember that the Fox is immortal and if in defending myself I spill the blood of the French, my father must not reproach me. And remember several other facts.'

"His audience finished, which was often interrupted by the musketry, The Fox responded in kind very well and worked night and day to dig caves in their fort in which to place their families under shelter from the fire of the armies. On the fourteenth day the Fox, beginning to lack everything to sustain life, raised his voice again in these words: 'My father, I no longer address myself to you. I speak to those women who are hidden in your fort that if they are as brave as they are said to be, that they will select eighty of the best warriors to whom I promise and you shall be witness of it, my father.

that I will oppose against them only twenty, and if the eighty conquer I consent to be their slave and if on the contrary the twenty conquer the eighty warriors, they shall be our slaves.' No reply was made to all his propositions except by musketry, but no one was killed.

"The eighteenth day having come, and the Foxes being entirely exhausted, since for six days they had eaten nothing, they went out of their fort at night with their families without being discovered. At daybreak the French were accustomed to fire several discharges of musketry from their fort on that of the Foxes, who replied on their side. But on this day, there was no more firing from their fort, which caused the French so much curiosity that they went to the fort of the Foxes, where they found no one. At the time the chiefs asked M. de Buisson that S. de Vincennes, with a number of Frenchmen, should march at their head in pursuit of the Foxes.

"Since the Foxes were starving they stopped on a peninsula to pasture their cattle. It was possible to get to them only by a defile, which they had taken care to guard. When the besiegers arrived there, closing the Foxes' way of escape, firing began on both sides.

"The Fox seeing himself cut off from escape, lifted his voice again to speak to M. de Vincennes, who had already shouted to them to surrender: 'We wish to surrender to you. Reply to me immediately. Tell me, my father, if there is any quarter for our families. Reply to me.'

"The S. de Vincennes shouted to him that he would grant them their lives. Immediately the Fox put down his arms and when he went to meet the allies in an instant they were surrounded and all the Foxes cut in pieces before they could reach their arms. The women and children were taken as slaves and the greater part of them sold to the French.

"Thus perished the Foxes whom M. de Lamothe had invited to Detroit. As soon as the Mascoutins and Kickapoos of

the great villages learned of this action they sent several parties into the field, some to le Baye, others to Detroit and to all avenues of approach, making all the other nations flee who did not dare resist their approach, until M. de Louvigny besieged them in their fort where they were well retrenched. Nevertheless, on account of bombs, they were forced to surrender. Their life was granted to them by M. de Louvigny in spite of the opinion and advice of the other nations who wished to exterminate them."

M. de Vincennes, as we have just seen, had been sent to Quebec by M. de Buisson to inform M. de Vaudreuil of the success of the French arms against the Foxes. By a letter from M. de Vaudreuil to the minister dated Quebec, Nov. 6, 1712, we see that M. de Vincennes returned the same autumn of 1712 among the Miamis of the St. Joseph river.*

In 1715 a party of the Miamis of the St. Joseph river were about to settle on the Maumee river near the actual site of Fort Wayne, Indiana. M. de Vincennes, who commanded them, followed them. From there he wrote to MM. de Ramezay and Begon that the English of Carolina were having recourse to every sort of expedient to persuade the Miamis to join them.†

From a resume of a letter of Governor de Vaudreuil submitted to the council of the Marine, June 28, 1716, we see that the allied nations of the upper country lived then in harmony and were well disposed toward the Foxes, their enemy.

M. de Vaudreuil said: "S. de Ramezay has been informed by Sr. de Vincennes, officer detached to the Miamis and the Ouiatanons that the Iroquais have sent belts to this nation under the earth, which means secret signs by which they invite them to seek the necessities of life at a post established on the Oyo river. (This post is a new settlement of the English from

*T. Saint-Pierre, *Histoire des Canadiens du Michigan*, p. 109.

†O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. IX, p. 931.

Carolina.) That they will find there merchandise, a half cheaper than among the French who trannize over them."

Sr. Vincennes replied that all the Miamis, fathers and sons, were children of Onontio (the French governor) and that they would never cease to obey him. The same Ouiatamons sent to Sr. de Ramezay a young slave to repeat, to him, for them the request which they had made last year for an officer to assist in their council, for a missionary to instruct, and for a blacksmith to repair their arms. The Marquis de Vaudreuil ought to grant their request, following the intention of the council. He ought to take particular care to garrison all the posts. It is of the last consequence, above all to establish firmly those of the south where the English of Pennsylvania, Carolina and Virginia are very anxious to enter. That would ruin not only the commerce of Canada but also that of Louisiana by means of the communication of the rivers which flow into the great river Mississippi."

June 26, 1717, the king ordered a letter written to MM. de Vaudreuil and Begon that he was well pleased to learn that M. de Vincennes had prevented the Miamis and the Ouiatamons from accepting the belts of the English. His majesty hoped that the sending of scarlet cloth would turn the savages away from commerce with the English.

We see from a letter from M. de Vaudreuil to the minister, Oct. 30, 1718, that M. de Vincennes was then at his post among the Miamis.*

Oct. 28, 1719, M. de Vaudreuil announced to the Council of Marine the death of M. de Vincennes. "It seems to me that it is very necessary that M. de Buisson continue to serve in this country, since he is more capable than any other officer of the government. The Ouiatanons and the Miamis know him and esteem him. He has a great reputation among them since the defeat of the Foxes at Detroit where he was in command dur-

*Archives du Canada, Correspondence generale, vol. 39.

ing the absence of Sr. Laforest and where the Miamis and the Ouitatanons came to trade, their village being not far distant from that post. These two nations have not yet made any move to go, the one to the St. Joseph river and the other to the Teatiky. They promised me, by speeches which I received from them last summer, that they would not fail to go to those places this autumn, but they have changed their mind, since that time, because I learned by the last letters which have come to me from the Miamis that the Sr. de Vincennes, being dead in their village, the Indians have decided not to go to the river St. Joseph, but to stay where they are."†

The Miamis preserved for a long time the memory of M. de Vincennes. Thirty years after his death, as we shall see by the following little incident, the French used his name to work upon the minds of these savages. After his arrival in New France, in 1747, M. de la Galissonnière realized the importance for France to have a road of communication between her two colonies of New France and of Louisiana. With this object in view, he decided to send an expedition to take formal possession of the Ohio valley, which English traders were beginning to frequent. He needed to accomplish this task, a capable officer of tact and influence among the savages. Pierre-Joseph Céloron de Blainville, captain of a company of troops of a detachment of the Marine, had all these qualities. He was sent into this distant region. The instructions which M. de la Galissonnière sent him, were, to journey over this immense country, to go among the different nations who inhabited it, to persuade them to follow him, to be witnesses of what he did and above all to allow no English to come to trade among them.

The expedition left Lachine, June 15, 1749. M. de Céloron had under his orders, a captain, M. Pécaudy de Contrecoeur.

†Archives du Canada, Correspondence generale, vol. 40; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol. LX, p. 894.

eight subaltern officers, six cadets, twenty troopers, one hundred and eighty Canadians and about thirty savages, Iroquois and Abenakis.

Sept. 13, 1749, almost three months after its departure from Lachine, the expedition arrived at the village of la Demoiselle near la Roche river, inhabited by the Miamis. M. de Céloron waited five days in this village for a Miami interpreter, whom he had requested from M. de Raymond, commandant of the post of Kiskakon. The interpreter not arriving, M. de Céloron decided to speak to the Miamis through an Iroquois, who spoke their language well. M. de Céloron got along very easily with the Miamis who were clever fellows. In the name of the governor of New France, he offered them eight strings of wampum. These presents were given to them to leave the villages of la Demoiselle on the La Roche river and Baril on the White river.

The interpreter accompanied the presentation with the following discourse: "My children, the fact that I am treating with you in spite of what you have done to the French, to support your women and children ought to prove to you the attachment which I have for you and the integrity of my sentiments. I forget what you have done and bury it deep in the earth, that I may never remember it again, persuaded that you have done nothing except at the instigation of a nation whose policy it is to trouble the earth and to ruin the mind of those who communicate with them, and who rise, profiting by the misfortune of others. These people you have allowed to get control of you. They have caused you to do wrong and have persuaded you to evil deeds, without appearing themselves to take in them any part, in order to separate you from me. I am sending you my word to clear your minds. Listen to it well and give your attention to it, my children. It is the word of a father who loves you and to whom your interests are

dear. I extinguish by these two strings of wampum the two fires which you lighted two years ago on the Rocky river and the White river. I extinguish them in such a way that no spark will ever rise from them again."

Always in the name of the governor of New France M. de Céloron offered them a belt to the Miamis of the villages of la Demoiselle and Baril. This new present, richer and more important, was to ask the Miamis to return to their ancient village where M. de Bissot de Vincennes died thirty years before. Let us listen to the interpreter speaking in the name of M. de Galissonnière: "My children, I desire to tell you by these strings of wampum that I have extinguished the fires that you have lighted on the Rocky river and on the White river. By these belts I lift for you your rush mats and I take you by the hand to lead you to Kiskakon, where I will relight your fire and settle you more firmly than ever. In this land, my children, you will enjoy perfect tranquillity, where I am ready every instant to give you signs of my friendship. In this land, my children, you will enjoy the sweetness of life, being the place where repose the bones of your ancestors and those of M. de Vincennes, whom you have loved so much and who always governed you, so that your affairs were prosperous. If you have forgotten the councils which they gave you, these ashes will recall them to your memory. The bones of your ancestors suffer from your absence. Have pity of these words which call you back to your village. Follow with your women and your children. The chief whom I send you brings you my word and will light anew your fire at Kiskakon so that it will never be extinguished. I will give you all the aid you have reason to expect from my friendship, and think, my children, that I am doing for you that which I have never done for any other nation."

FRANCOIS-JOSEPH BISSOT.

(Uncle of François Marie Bissot de Vincennes.)

Born at Quebec, May 19, 1673, of the marriage François Bissot de la Rivière and of Marie Couillard.

Nov. 9, 1695, François-Joseph Bissot, Charles-François Bissot, Louis Jolliet and Charles Jolliet formed a five years' partnership to go to Mingan to make a deal in the land of François Bissot de la Rivière from Egg Island to the Bay of the Spaniards. The partnership did not last long since the following year the Bissot heirs, thinking that they could not enjoy nor make profitable the shares which they possessed in the seigniory of Mingan, rented and farmed out the seigniory of Mingan to Louis Jolliet for five years.

After the death of Louis Jolliet in 1700 his sons formed a partnership with Charles-François Bissot and François-Joseph Bissot to carry on the enterprise at Mingan. On March 30, 1708, François Bissot, Jean-Baptiste Demeules and Joseph Guion de Rouvray formed a partnership for five years to make a settlement in a place called the Three Islands on the north coast of Newfoundland where they were to hunt, to fish and to trade. The hired men who were to make the voyage with the partners were named Labarre, Argencourt, Rousseau, Bonhomme, Paul Martel and Rasset.

Oct. 24, 1731, MM. Beauharnois and Hocquart wrote to the minister: "Srs. Bissot and Cheron, merchants and navigators, of the city of Quebec, have requested of us that it be permitted to them to search for the anchors lost in this roadstead, on the condition that those which they recover shall belong to them, without their being compelled to pay the rights which belong to Mgr. the Count of Toulouse, on account of the expense they will be under in recovering these old sea marks. For their success is uncertain on account of the difficulty and

the risks which they may find. Nothing could be more advantageous to commerce than this enterprise. Wherefore I beg you, Mgr., to authorize them to do it and to make his highness agree to give up the third part which belongs to him in everything that is brought up from the bottom of the sea according to Article X of the first title of the first book of the ordinance of 1681. The accidents which happened daily to vessels by striking these lost anchors, which chafe and cut their ropes and send them into the coast are the motives which cause us to request of you orders on the proposition which these men have made us."

In 1733, François-Joseph Bissot wrote to Minister de Maurepas to obtain from his majesty his continuance in the possession of the seigniory of Mingan granted to his late father, François Bissot de la Rivière by the Company of the Indies in February, 1661. M. Bissot explained to the minister that since the retrocession of the colony by the company of the Indies to his majesty, there had been established a domain which at first was bordered by the concession of his father but which later took in a third of his seigniory. M. Bissot said further that the original title granted to his father in 1661 had been destroyed in a fire of the lower city of Quebec.

The suppliant, added he, has recourse to Your Highness to beg that you obtain from his Majesty that he be preserved in the possession which he has, to keep his concession from the limit of the domain which is at present from Cormorant Point going down the river to the land granted, and the exclusive privilege of maintaining there along his settlements and of making new ones if it is possible. To kill seals, with the rights of hunting and of trading with the Indians, which his late father possessed and which he has enjoyed more than sixty years. He dares, moreover, Mgr., to be sure of the justice of your highness on this occasion, since the favor, which he takes the liberty to ask, is the fruit of his labor and of the ex-

penditures which he has made in places which seemed inaccessible and where he has placed the little property which his father left him. Having nothing else by which to support his family it would be very sad for him, Mgr., to see disorder rule in this place for several years among the savages, whom he has always kept in sentiments of Christianity and who are only under the authority of the French who come there by favor of the permission they obtained to go fish for cod on the coast of Labrador, and who by the commerce in brandy destroy entire families and ruin at the same time the suppliant by the loss of sums of money on the credit which he is obliged to give the Indians to keep them from seeking their necessities from the English of Hudson Bay, as they did before the suppliant hunted them up for more than a hundred miles inland to attract them to th sea coast.

Minister Maurepas had at that time too many important affairs on his hands to concern himself with the request of M. Bissot. It was put in his drawer and forgotten.

March 15, 1736, François-Joseph Bissot gave a lease on the farm for nine years of all the rights possessed by him in the seigniory of Mingan to Jean-Louis Volant d' Hautebourg, a lawyer of Quebec. The latter promised to pay to M. Bissot for each year of his lease a sum of twelve hundred livres.

In 1737 M. Bissot made a new effort to obtain from Minister Maurepas the confirmation to the concession of Mingan. In his own name and in that of the other heirs of the late François Bissot de la Rivière he addressed a new petition to M. de Maurepas. The considerations of this new petition were almost the same as those of the one he had presented in 1733. He finished by saying: "Monsieur, the suppliant has recourse to your Highness to prevent a very great wrong being done to him. He begs to be maintained in his possession of that which remains to him of the land which extends from the cape of the Dead Bodies. Especially since it appears by the ordinance of

M. Hocquart that it extends to the limit of the concession accorded to Sr. de Lafontaine. It is very hard for him, that after a possession of seventy years without interruption in places that were up to his time inaccessible, he should see himself despoiled of it, little by little. The act of faith and homage of which he has the honor to affix a certified copy proves that this land was granted to his father. His possession of seventy years and more, cannot be disputed. Therefore, Mgr., he dares to hope that the justice of Your Highness will hasten to make for him a new brevet of concessions from His Majesty of the tract of land mentioned above. The ordinance of M. Hocquart refers to it. His co-heirs appoint him to appear before His Majesty to obtain this from him. He begs Your Highness not to refuse him this favor that he may in his old age enjoy the tranquillity which his labors in these places ought to allow him."

On April 9, 1738, Minister Maurepas brought the demand of François Bissot to the attention of MM. de Beauharnois and Hocquart and he added "if it should be agreeable to you to verify the facts which he has shown and to inform me of them giving me your advice about the request he has made, in order that I may place His Majesty in a condition to decide that which he may judge proper. If you judge that it would be just to grant the confirmation requested, will you take care to explain to me clearly the situation and the limits of the land. But in the examination which you make of this affair, will you care to propose nothing which could harm the domain of His Majesty."

The letter of Minister de Maurepas to MM. de Beauharnois and Hocquart arrived like mustard after dinner, since it came to Quebec almost a year after the death of François Bissot. He in truth had died at Quebec Dec. 11, 1737.

In a "Petition to justify the possession of the Bissot and

Jolliet heirs to the post of Mingan situated on the north shore of the river St. Lawrence on terra firma" presented to the Count of Halifax, secretary of state on Oct. 23, 1763, by M. Lafontaine de Belcour, son-in-law of M. de Bissot, we read: "After his death (François Bissot de la Rivière), Sr. François Bissot, the eldest of his children, continued to live at Mingan for forty years with his family and continued there the same estates that his father had developed jointly with Sr. Jolliet, who had married one of the sisters of François Bissot, whence comes the right of the descendents of Sr. Jolliet in the post of Mingan. In 1733, Sr. Bissot, the grandfather, retired to Quebec, rented the post to Sr. de Lafontaine, his son-in-law, a lease which was not to last longer than a year. Then Sr. Volant rented it from Sr. Bissot and the Jolliet heirs.

ACT OF THE MARRIAGE OF JEAN BAPTISTE BIS-
SOT DE VINCENNES AND OF MARGUERITE
FORESTIER.

(Montreal, September 19, 1696.)

On the 19th day of September, 1696, was made and solemnised the marriage between Jean Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes, officer in the detachment of the marine, age 27 years, son of François Bissot and of Marie Couillard, of the Parish of Notre Dame of Quebec, and Marguerite Forestier, age 21 years, daughter of Antoine Forestier, surgeon, and of Madeleine de Cauclier, her father and mother of this parish. He has paid for the three bans granted by M. Dollier, Grand Vicar. The said marriage was made in the presence of Antoine Forestier, father of the girl, Séraphin Margane, Sr. de la Valterrie, Captain of the detachment of the marine, brother-in-law of the groom; Charles le Gardeur, Esq., Sr. de l'Isle, officer of the

troupes; Jean Boudor, merchane, and Bernard Arnaud, merchant. Robert le Cauclier, grandfather of the bride.

Vinsenne

LaValterie

J. Boudor

LeCavelier

Marguerite Forestier

Le Gardeur Delisle

Arnaud

A. Forestier

M. Caille, discharging the function of Cure.

ACTE OF THE BIRTH OF FRANCOIS-MARIE BISSOT
DE VINCENNES.

(Montreal, June 17, 1700.)

On the 17th of June, 1700, was baptised François-Marie, son of Jean Bissot, Sr. of Vincennes, officer in the troops, and of Marguerite Forestier, his wife. He was born the same day of the said month and year. His godfather was François Margane, esq., Sr. de Batilly, also officer in the troops. His godmother was Marie Magd. Forestier, daughter of Sr. Forestier, surgeon.

Batilly

M. Magdelaine Forestier

R. C. De Breslay P. I., acting as cure.

FRANCOIS-MARIE BISSOT DE VINCENNES

(Founder of Vincennes.)

Born at Montreal, June 17, 1700, of the marriage of Jean-Baptist Bissot de Vincennes, officer in the troops, and of Marguerite Forestier. He was baptized the same day by M. l'abbé

de Breslay. His godfather was his cousin, François Margane de Batilly, officer in the troops, and his godmother, his aunt Marie-Madeline Forestier.

Here is the explanation of the error made by most of the historians on the subject of the founder of Vincennes. François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes sometimes signed his name Margane de Vincennes, whence the conclusion has been drawn that it was not a Bissot de Vincennes but a Margane of Lavaltrie. Under the French regime a number of Canadians adopted as a middle name the name of their godfather in preference to those which they had received in baptism. In signing his name Margane de Vincennes the founder of Indiana was only honoring his godfather and following a common custom.*

After 1718 the young de Vincennes served with his father among the Miamis as a cadet. On May 20, 1722, François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes was made a half pay ensign of Louisiana.‡

On October 24, 1722, Governor de Vaudreuil wrote to the Council of Marine: "I have received the letter which the council has done me the honor to write to me on the fourteenth of last June by which it had the goodness to inform me that his royal Highness approved of the plans which I had made to attract the savages to the St. Joseph river and to the Teatiky to form settlements there, and of the part which I have taken in sending M. de Buisson, captain, to establish a post among the Miamis and to be in command of this post, as well as of that of the Ouyatanons and to have him sent to the Miamis, to prevent the effect of the practices which the English continue to use, to attract the Indians to Orange. I

*This custom is still very much in vogue in our time.

‡Alphabet Laffillard, vol. 11, p. 319. The same Alphabet gives also the date October 19, 1722.

tried to take the most just measures to stop these practices or at least to render them useless and I hope to succeed by the name of Sr. de Buisson who formerly wiped away the anger of a part of these savages on an occasion when they were not allowed to have any more French brandy. By his wisdom he knew how to manage them in such a way that in the end he succeeded in making them more docile than they were before.

"The log fort which he had built and which was finished last May is the finest in the upper country. It is a strong fort and safe from insult from the savages. This post which is of considerable extent ought to have a missionary. One could be sent there in 1724 if next year the council will send to Canada the four Jesuits which I ask.

"The band of forty or fifty Ouyatanons who have settled on the Teatiky decided to return to their ancient dwelling when they saw that most of the nation did not wish to abandon it. The Sr. de Vincennes' son, who is only a cadet in the troops, is in command of this nation under the orders of Sieur de Buisson. He has been there since 1718 and he is very useful on account of the great credit which he has acquired among these savages who preserve for him the same attachment which they had for Sr. de Vincennes, his father. His services deserve that the council should desire to give him their attention. If I had foreseen the establishment which the king has made this year of a second ensign in each one of the twenty-eight companies that his Majesty maintains in Canada, I would have had the honor to propose him to the council, to have one of the places which were not yet filled by petty ensigns as they are at present. But since there are three second ensigns with letters of service who ought not to be received in this rank except in those places which will come to be vacant in the future, I beg the council very humbly to grant similar letters of service to the Sr. de Vincennes in order that he may be

received in the first place which may be vacant after the Srs. Le Verrier, Sadrevois and Lignery have been received.”*

In 1723 when he was accused before the minister of not lending aid and assistance to the government of Louisiana the Marquis de Vaudreuil defended himself energetically. On October 11, 1723, M. de Vaudreuil enumerated to the minister all the means he had taken to assist Louisiana. He used the occasion to make known the merit of M. de Vincennes: “After what I have done in 1719, as well as in this year, to prevent the Abenakis from going to live among the Foxes, for which I was greatly thanked by a letter which Father Aubry, their missionary, wrote me the third of this month, of which I enclose a copy, I leave you to judge, Mgr., if one has any right to say that I have no regard for what happens to the government of Louisiana, as a thing to which I ought to lend aid and assistance, and to prevent wars which could happen there on the part of the nations which are dependent on me.

“Not only on these two occasions have I given my attention to this matter but I have done so in many others when the Ouyatanons would have made war on the Illinois, if by the orders which I have always given to Sr. Vincennes to keep these two nations in peace he had not stopped the movements of the Ouyatanons among whom he has all the credit imaginable, and had made several voyages with them to the Illinois.”*

August 17, 1724, M. de Vaudreuil wrote to M. de Boisbriand, commandant among the Illinois: “I am much pleased with the advancement of Srs. St-Ange, father and son, but I am surprised that you are thinking of taking Sr. de Vincennes away from my government and that you have tried to make him leave a post where he is very necessary, on account of the credit which he has among the savage nations of this post,

*Archives du Canada, Correspondence generale, vol. 44.

*Archives du Canada, Correspondence generale, vol. 45.

which you know does not belong in any way to the government of the Mississippi. I would be very sorry to be obliged to take my complaint to court, which I will, however, have to do if you continue to try to take him away. I flatter myself, Monsieur, that you will give your attention to this matter and that you will reflect on the inconveniences which could come from it.

"I wrote last year for the advancement of Sr. de Vincennes. I hope that the court has paid attention to my representations and that he will have his advance this year."*

On February 9, 1725, M. Dugué de Boisbriand, commandant among the Illinois, wrote to the company of the Indies: "It would have been advantageous to establish a post on the Wabash, but since up to now, they have not even kept up the one among the Illinois, there is little likelihood that one could undertake to establish this post. It is, however, much to be feared lest the English take possession of it, which would lose us entirely the colony of the upper country, since it would be easy for them with the enormous quantities of merchandise which they ordinarily carry, to gain all the savages of that district. Will the company have the goodness to reflect well on this matter?"†

On May 11, 1725, the company of the Indies sent to M. de Beauharnois, governor general of New France, a memoir in which it asserted that the introduction of commerce on the part of strangers into Canada would ruin it, do harm to the kingdom and alienate the savages from the French. It suggested as a means of obviating from the state, things so prejudicial, the establishment of posts commanded by competent officers. It demanded also the severe punishment of those

*Archives du Canada, Series F., vol. 56. p. 147.

†Pierre Margry, *Mémoires et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des Origines Françaises des Pays d'Outre-Mer*, tome, vol. 16, p. 657.

colonists who allowed the savages to carry merchandise to the stranger. It also demanded that no Englishman be allowed to settle at Montreal.

The company of the Indies said to M. Beauharnois that M. de Vincennes was the most capable man to drive the Miamis against the Foxes, if there should be occasion to make war against them, but it added that it was necessary to preserve the friendship and the dependence of all the savages, who lived along the line of communication between Canada and Louisiana in order to have nothing to fear from the English. And for this end it demanded the establishment of a post at Wabash.”*

On December 22, 1725, the company of the Indies wrote to M. de Boisbriand: “It would be well for you to write to M. Vincennes, who is among the Miamis, to beg them to come to an understanding with the commandant of the Wabash in regard to the savage nations which he commands, and to give him information of the enterprises which the English could start in that district. The company begs Mgr. Count de Maurepas to be willing to send orders to Canada by the first vessels which leave for Quebec, in order that Sr. de Vincennes may be commanded to act in conformity, and that all the other officers placed among the savage nations of the government of Canada who live at the mouth of the Wabash river may protect as much as they can the post, which the company is establishing there, and shall join together with the commandant there to drive away the English, who may penetrate as far as this river.†

On April 23, 1726, M. de Vincennes was promoted to be second ensign.* M. de Beauharnois and Dupuy were told the

*Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes for 1904, p. 16.

†Pierre Margry, *Memoires et Documents pour Servir a l'Historie des Origines Francaises des Pays d'Outremer*, vol. 6, p. 657.

*Alphabet Laffilard, vol. 11, p. 319.

news by the following letter of the council of Marines (May 14, 1726): "The six vacancies in the rank of second ensign have been granted to Srs. Desgly, Lorimier, de Vincennes, Mouchy, d'Hocquincourt, Delage, and Malespine."†

On the 14th of May, 1726, the king informed MM. de Beauharnois and Dupuy that the English had built two houses and some store houses on a river which flowed into the Ouabache, in order to trade there with the Miamis and the Ouyatanons. He ordered them to give orders to M. de Vincennes that he get into communication with M. de Boisbriand, in order to place obstacles against the expansion of the English in this district.‡

On the 30th of September, 1726, the company of the Indies sent to M. Périer, governor of Louisiana, the following memoirs on the measures which were to be taken by M. Vincennes to observe the conduct of the English: "About 120 miles above the Arkansas there flows into the Mississippi the Ouabache river formed of four other rivers, one of which rises near Lake Erie and is called the St. Jerome or the Ouabache, the other called the Ohio rises among the Iroquois, and the two others called Tennessee and Cumberland rise near Virginia. The country which these rivers water abounds in wild cattle and is not yet occupied by any European nation."

"Since the first of these rivers is the means of communication between Louisiana and Canada, and since this communication will be entirely broken if the English form a settlement at the confluence of one of these three other rivers, which would expose, at the same time, the country of the Illinois and place in danger all the upper country of the colony, the company has ordered the establishment of a post on the Wabash river and has begged the governor of Canada to order the Sr.

†Archives du Canada, Serie B., vol. 42.

‡Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes for 1904, p. 72.

de Vincennes who is in command among the Ouyatanon-Miamis settled near the source of the Wabash, to get into communication with the commandant of the new post, to make this nation approach to protect this post and also to observe the conduct of the English and to drive them away in case they draw near.

"M. Perrier will see by the enclosed copies of the letter written to M. de Boisbriand and of the memoirs sent to M. le count de Beauharnois, what the company considers ought to be done in this matter. M. de Boisbriand advises in reply that the lack of merchandise prevents him from establishing the said post and that he believes it necessary to give the command of it to M. de Vincennes, who is already half-pay lieutenant of infantry at Louisiana and who can treat with the Miamis better than any other.

"On the other hand the company learns through M. Desliettes, commandant among the Illinois, that Sr. de Vincennes had come to find him and to tell him that he had learned that the English had already formed a settlement near the source of the Ohio river, and that he had sent the Sr. de Vincennes with presents for the Indians, ordering him to make sure of the truth of this news. If it is confirmed there is not a moment to lose in having the lower part of the Ohio river occupied by the Ouyatanons, and it is necessary immediately to establish a fort on the Wabash near the place where the Cumberland rivers flows into it. To place there in command an officer who can live in harmony with the Sr. de Vincennes, whom it will not do at all to remove from the Ouyatanons, if one hopes to get from them the service which we desire. M. Perrier must consider well this affair and find out, if in giving eight or ten soldiers to the said Sr. de Vincennes with the missionary destined for Wabash, he will not find himself in condition to assure, through the savages, the communications between Louisiana and Canada, and of preventing the Eng-

lish from penetrating into our colony, without obliging the company to construct in the lower regions of the Wabash river a fort, the expense of the establishment of which, and the maintenance of a garrison would be an object of consequence.

"In order to persuade the Sr. de Vincennes to attach himself to the colony of Louisiana, M. Perrier advised him that he would obtain from the company for him an annual stipend of three hundred livres which would be paid to him along with his salary of half-pay lieutenant."*

des Origines Francaises des Pays d'Outremer, vol. 16, p. 658.

In the list of officers of the troops of the detachment of the Marine serving in New France signed at Quebec October 15, 1729, one reads: "Second ensign; Vincennes."†

On April 4, 1730, M. de Vincennes was confirmed half-pay lieutenant of Louisiana. He had already served in this capacity several years without having the rank.

On October 15, 1730, MM. de Beauharnois and Hocquart wrote to the minister: "We have received the letter which you have done us the honor to write to us, the second of last March, sharing with us the reflections which you had made on the means of preventing the commerce of the English with the savages and concerning which it has pleased you to ask our advice.

"To prevent this commerce it is necessary to stop it entirely. Which means that precautions must be taken that the post of Niagara and of Fort Frontenac are always well supplied with merchandise for trading. That will be very easy if the king's ship arrives in good season as it did this year.

"As regards the post of Detroit and equally the prevention of commerce of the English with the savages, it will be important to follow the intentions which one had in mind in the

*Peirre Margry, *Memoires et Documents Pour Servir a l' Histoire*

†Archives du Canada, serie F., vol. 51.

first settlement and to accomplish it, it is necessary to establish there a good garrison in the beginning, in order that following the intention of the court, this post may be in a state to maintain good order and to make respected the French and the savages.

"It is certain that the intentions, which have been held since the establishment of Detroit, were, in part, to break off the liaisons of the English with the savages and to cause to cease the commerce which they carry on among them. The expedient which we use to carry out these intentions and to prevent entirely the association of the savages with the English might be, as you have done us the honor to point out to us, to oblige the Miamis and the Ouyatanons to come to supply their needs at Detroit, not allowing travelers to carry anything among them. But we think that there is cause for fear lest the English go among the savages, who will receive them, thinking that the French have abandoned them. It is certain that, if at present, we abandon one only of the posts which the French occupy, that the English will establish themselves there immediately. So we think that it is necessary, better to fortify those which we have today, rather than to weaken them in obliging one nation to go among another to find there the necessities of life, the more, that it seems to us dangerous to assemble different savage nations in the same place for fear that they do not get along well together.

"The Ouyatanons have been led into the government of Louisiana by the Sr. de Vincennes, who is entirely separated from this government.* Sr. de V Beauharnois (to oblige this nation to return among the Miamis to supply their wants) at first intended to allow no traveler to come up from that territory and he would have put his plan in execution, if he had not found himself obliged to grant this permission to Frenchmen in order to send missionaries to the Tamarois, and

*That is the government of Canada.

they brought with them merchandise in great quantities which they put on sale in the old post as usual."†

In the plan of the state of the expenditures for the year 1731 one sees that the officer in command at Wabash was to receive as a supplement to his salary, as well as for the maintenance of the fort during the last six months of the year 1731 a sum of 400 livres at the rate of 800 livres a year. The same budget gives us the name of the officers who were at Quebec, with the salaries which they were to receive: St. Jantzen, lieutenant, 240 livres for the last six months; Sr. de Saint-Ange, 240 livres for the last six months; and Sr. de Vincennes 240 livres for the last six months.*

October 12, 1732, MM. de Beauharnois and Hocquart wrote to the minister: "Sr. de Vincennes who is among the Ouyatanons has been informed of the last arrangements made for the transportation of Illinois cattle to Canada, and has written to M. de Beauharnois, that, if His Majesty will grant the same perquisite that he has to Sr. Gastineau, that is to say 1000 livres he will guarantee to send them alive to Canada. As the arrangements were only conditional, we have replied to him that he would be treated as Sr. Gastineau had been."†

In a list of officers of the troops of the detachment of Marine in 1732, one reads Bissot de Vincennes, ensign, thirty-four years old.‡ In reality M. de Vincennes was only thirty-two years old in 1732.

In the budget of expenses of 1732 for salaries and perquisites of Louisiana one finds: "To M. de Vincennes, commandant at Wabash for a perquisite 800 pounds.§

†Archives du Canada, Correspondence generale, serie F., vol. 52. p. 27.

*J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 297.

‡Archives du Canada, serie F., vol. 57, p. 73.

§L'abbé Daniel, *Aperçu sur Quelques Contemporains*, p. 52.

§J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 307.

In a letter that M. de Vincennes wrote on March 7, 1733, to one of the officials of the department of the Marine in France one finds interesting information about his post and about these savages among whom he lived. "To reply to your letter which I have had the honor to receive I begin by informing you that the Wabash is composed of five nations who compose four villages of which the least has sixty men carrying arms, and all of them could furnish from six to seven hundred men if it were necessary to assemble them for the welfare of the service and for their own welfare. On account of the nearness of the English, it has been impossible for me to bring together all these nations because there has always been a lack of merchandise in this place. The fort which I have built is about eighty miles in the Wabash country up the river by which the English have been able to descend and open up commerce with these nations. The place is very suitable in which to build a great settlement which I would have done if I had had troops enough. In regard to the commerce which one can carry on here, a traffic in skins could go on all year to the extent of 30,000 skins. This is the only commerce, Monsieur, which could be carried on for the present.

"I have never had a greater need of troops in these places than at the present time. The savages, the Illinois, as well as the Miamis and others are more insolent than they have ever been, especially since the Foxes were defeated. The little experience which I have acquired in the twenty years that I have been among them, causes me to fear some evil trick on the part of these nations and above all, of my own who seeing a settlement which I had begun, did not seem to wish it to be continued. Since for three years nothing has happened. Except, Monsieur, the migration of all the nations not only of the lakes but also of other places.

"You do me the honor to indicate to me that I send you a statement of the work done and to be done. There is only one

fort and two houses within and it will be necessary very soon to build a guard house with barracks in which to lodge the soldiers. Nothing else is possible in this place with so few troops. I need thirty men with an officer. I am more embarrassed than ever, in this place, by the war with the Chicasaws who have come twice since spring. Only two days ago the last party took away three people and since the French took up tomahawks against them I am obliged every day to put up a defense. I hope, that of your goodness, you will indeed wish to give your attention to this place and to my difficulty for myself as well as for the little garrison which I have. This is the favor which he awaits, from you, who has the honor to be, with profound respect, M., your very humble and very obedient servant,

VINSENNE.

On March 21, 1733, M. de Vincennes wrote another equally interesting letter to the same person: "I have just received a packet from M. le marquis de Beauharnois which I have sent to M. de Saint-Ange in order that you may have it as quickly as possible.

"M. le marquis de Beauharnois sent me a belt and a pipe for the Illinois which I sent to M. de Saine-Ange to insist that the nations go and attack the Chickasaws. All the nations of Canada and of the lakes start this spring to go there. Both nations here have gone even their chiefs. Not a single man remained in all these villages. And they all passed in front of this post, which is not a favorable condition.

"I had the honor to inform you in my last letter that the Chickasaws this autumn killed six Frenchmen in the Wabash country who had come to this post and were living here. This same party killed one of the savages of this post and his wife. If they begin to come in these places it will be difficult to travel. M. le marquis de Beauharnois indicates to me that he

wishes absolutely to destroy the Chickasaws and their allies and to prevent these nations from joining those of Canada.

"In this post we lack everything. I am obliged to borrow from travellers and to give the little that I have myself to take care of all the affairs which come up daily. I have the honor to beg you, Monsieur, to give your attention to this matter and to have me reimbursed for what I have furnished. I realize that it has already cost me much. When these nations return and when all the prisoners, which they have taken are given to us, it will be necessary to pay for this sort of thing as well as to look for the dead if we lose any one. I hope that they will come this autumn and make the attack. At least I will invite them here since they are all disposed to come. I am about to go in a few days to their large village and if I find everything quiet I may go down into Canada. M. le marquis de Beauharnois tells me that he will allow me to make this trip to attend to some family matters. I will not be longer than five months on this voyage. I am writing to M. Saint-Ange to send his son in my absence. I hope Monsieur that you will not take it ill, that I make this trip because I will not do it unless I see everything in good shape in this continent. I have the honor to be

"With profound respect, M., your very humble and very obedient servant,

VINSENNE.

The fort of Wabash, March 21, 1733."*

On March 24, 1733, Count de Maurepas, president of the Council of Marine, wrote to MM. de Beauharnois and Hocquart that Sr. Gastineau having been unsuccessful in sending the cattle from Illinois, it was not necessary to make arrangements with M. de Vincennes, commandant among the Ouyatons, since the experience of Sr. Cugnet did not give reason to

*J. P. Dunn, *The Mission of the Ouabache*, p. 305.

hope that one could obtain wool from them. There was therefore no advantage in domesticating these animals.†

On April 1, 1733, M. de Vincennes was made half-pay lieutenant in Canada.‡

On May 20, 1733, MM. de Bienville and Salmon wrote to the minister: "By the same letter Sr. Saint-Ange says that he is little assured of the fidelity of the Illinois, who often give him alarm and seem likely to fear our resentment over their past faults in order to have a pretext to make a disturbance.

"In another region Sr. de Vincennes who is in command among the Miami calls attention to the fact that the savages settled on the Wabash are not any more tranquil than the Illinois. That he is in no condition to prevent their carrying on commerce with the English since it is necessary to reunite them all, and since he has no merchandise to attract them, since moreover the garrison is too feeble to restrain these nations.*

In a memoir of M. de Bienville on Louisiana which seems to be about 1733, it is said: "Sr. de Vincennes who commanded there (at Wabash) informed him that the Peanguichas who were settled near our fort desired to bring among them a village of the same nation who had remained about sixty miles higher up the river. Two reasons made him favor this design, the first to fortify our settlement and the second to take away from this village the facility of commerce with the English who had established two stores among the Chanuans on the Ohio River.†

In their letter to the minister April 8, 1734, MM. de Bienville and Salmon wrote: "As concerns Wabash, M. de Vincennes from whom we have had no news informs us by a messenger, who has just come down from among the Illinois, that

†Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes for 1904, p. 169.

‡Alphabet Laffillard, vol. 11, p. 319.

*J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 300.

†J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 308.

the fort which he had built for the garrison which consisted of only ten men is very small and in fairly good condition, that it is necessary only to place around it a double wall of stone. That he has had built within a house at his own expense for his dwelling and that some of the soldiers on their part have made barracks to live in, that immediately the garrison is to be increased to thirty men, an order which M. de Bienville has given to M. Dartaguiette.‡

On April 13, 1734, in his letter to MM. de Beauharnois and Hocquart, M. de Maurepas returning to the proposition of M. de Vincennes approved that they had written to him not to send cattle from Illinois, this enterprise appearing impracticable

July 20, 1734, the king had a letter written to M. de Beauharnois saying that he had learned by way of Louisiana that the Foxes, after the unfortunate affair of the Bay of St. Joseph, had retired on to the Wisconsin river and that M. Dartaguettes had sent scouts after them to locate them and to make the nation march against them. The king added that Sr. de Vincennes, commandant at Wabash, had written to him that the savage Peauguichias, settled near his fort, wished to bring to themselves the greater part of their nation who were sixty miles higher up. This would have given importance to Wabash and would have taken away from the English the commerce which they were carrying on with the Peauguichias village. The savage Chouanons who had two English commercial agencies established near them had the same intention of going away, a party to Wabash and a party to Detroit.

July 27, 1734, M. de Bienville wrote to the minister: "Sr. de Vincennes, who is in command at Wabash, advises him that the Peauguichias, who have settled near our fort, desire to attach to themselves a village of the same nation who remain

‡J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 308.

sixty miles higher up. Two reasons make him favor this design the first to fortify our settlement and second to take away from this village facility of commerce with the English.

"This officer adds that it will not be difficult to take away from them this nation who have only given them the preference because it was not so easy to obtain their necessities from us as from the English. He is sure that a party has the intention of going to Detroit and another of coming to him. If Monsieur considers that these changes are advantageous, I will give orders in consequence to M. de Vincennes. Moreover, since the post of Wabash is one of the most important of the colony, being a barrier which is opposed to the progress of the English who have always frequented much these districts, he has given orders to M. Dartaguettes to detach thirty men with two officers to make up the garrison for it.*

On August 20, 1735, M. de Bienville wrote to the minister: "Sr. de Vincennes who is in command of the fort of the Peanguichias has persuaded the savages of his district to declare war against the Chickasaws and has secured from M. Dartaguettes the argeement to march with them, with those of the French which he can get together. Since this officer has much influence over the minds of the savages M. de Bienville is persuaded that he will encourage them to do their best."†

The Chickasaws, a large and enterprising nation, very hostile to the French and allied with the English with whom they kept up continuous and important commercial relation, inhabited all the country between the Illinois and the Choctaws on the south. Each year they grew larger from the debris of other tribes who came to unite with them and to bring to them a new strength. Assured of the aid of the English, having in their power a strong contingent of savages, they enjoyed

*J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 329.

†J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 309.

disturbing the French settled among the Tonicas and the Arkansas. They attacked their convoys going up among the Illinois and, what concerned much the governors of Quebec and of New Orleans, they favored the establishment of colonies from Virginia on the Ohio and on the Illinois rivers. England very much desired this establishment, which was to serve as a barrier between the two colonies of Canada and of Louisiana, and was to weaken them in separating them. Moreover she hoped in this way to obtain possession of the trade in skins from the south to the north of America, because the savage tribes were persuaded, not without reason, that the English could more easily than the French bring plenty into their country in giving to them at better rates their merchandise from Europe and buying more dearly the product of their hunting.

The aggressive and provoking attitude of the Chickasaws could not long be endured. It was important to reduce their power as soon as possible, if one wished to assure the free possession of the Mississippi valley and to prevent the English from opening stores between Canada and Louisiana.

The governor of Louisiana, M. de Bienville, summoned the Chickasaws to bring him without delay the head of the Natchez who had taken refuge among them. The chief replied "the Natchez form one nation with the Chickasaws, we can not give them up." Little content with this reply M. de Bienville declared war against them. He ordered the commandant among the Illinois, M. Dartaguettes, to levy as many soldiers as he could among the Illinois, the Canadians and the French in the Chickasaw country on May 10, 1736. He himself would unite at Mobile all those available in Louisiana. He would ascend the river of the same name by a flotilla of rafts and of boats and would arrive at Tombeche (today Cotton Gin Port). There 200 Choctaws awaited him with Father Beaudoin, their missionary. The army would set on the march the next day

and on the evening of May 27 it would camp one mile from the great village of the Chickasaws.

The arrangement made by M. de Bienville could not be so secret that they were not discovered by the enemy. The Chickasaws, guided by the English, fortified their retrenchments and awaited the French with assurance. Two assaults were made the same day and vigorously repulsed. Unhappily the governor, who did not think that he would need his artillery, had left it seven miles away and he had no time to bring it up, for the savages of other towns ran in great numbers to aid the great village. He sent back the Choctaws with presents, ordered a retreat and took the road back to Mobile.

This expedition for which a two years' preparation had been made culminating in so inglorious a manner diminished perceptibly the reputation of the great captain. His friends tried to make the blame fall on commandant Dartaguettes who had not joined him, they said, as he had been ordered. This defense was mistaken, for the commandant had invaded the land of the Chickasaws on the ninth of May at the head of 130 French or Canadians, 100 Illinois M. de Vincennes' savages and some Iroquois. There were about 400 men. Bancroft says there were nearly 1,100.

For ten days M. Dartaguettes camped at the sources of the Yalabusha and waited there futilely for M. de Bienville, to the great discontent of the savages who became impatient, murmured and threatened to desert. In this situation he took the course which seemed to him wisest and most dignified. He set his troops in movement, took possession of a village and marched against another. There he hesitated, the French scouts asserted that the village was defended by numerous troops. The savages maintained the contrary. He believed the latter and commanded an assault. A first and then a second fort was deprived of its flag; at the assault of the third he was wounded and fell. Discouraged, the savages betook them-

selves to a precipitate flight except the Iroquois who accomplished prodigies of valor. With them, the officers and the soldiers resisted the enemy until the moment when, being out-flanked, and succumbing to a greater number they were forced to think of retreating. The greater part of the French and the Iroquois succeeded in escaping and retiring in good order under the guidance of Voisin, a soldier sixteen years old who made himself officer and directed the retreat with the sang-froid and the experience of an old captain. Followed by the Chickasaws for 25 miles, he held them at a distance and made his men, inspired by his example, run for 45 miles without food carrying the wounded.

At the assault of the third fort some soldiers and the three brothers Drouet de Richerville, distinguished officers, found a glorious death. MM. Dartaguettes, de Vincennes, de Coulanges, the fourth brother de Drouet, Du Tisné, d'Esgly, de Sainte-Ange, de Tonty and fifteen or sixteen soldiers were made prisoners and led to a mound in the middle of the town. There stripped first of their clothing, insulted and cruelly beaten they were thrown on two pyres where they expired with the most atrocious suffering.

With these heroes died, under the same tortures, the Jesuit Antoine Senat. He had arrived from France among the Illinois in 1734, and M. Dartaguettes had attached him to himself as a chaplain when he set out against the Chickasaws. . . . He could have fled with Voisin and his companions; he was advised to do it, he was even offered a horse but he refused, his duty being to be with the French whom the enemy were about to make captive. He was taken with them. With them he marched to the place of martyrdom; with them he submitted to the last outrages and the bastinado. The dream of his heart of an apostle was realized. He heard the last confession of his companions. He absolved them and exhorted them to offer to God with courage and like true martyrs the sacri-

fice of their life. Before mounting the pyre, falling on their knees they prayed, then they intoned in a firm voice the psalms and the canticle and continued then in the midst of the flame. Later, in relating this scene of martyrdom, the savages said that the French sang as they went up; and in seeing them die they gave them this praise by these simple words "Truly these Frenchmen are not women, but men."*

On what date and in what place were M. de Vincennes and his heroic companions put to death by the Chickasaws? Opinions differ considerably about the date of the death of M. de Vincennes. Several official accounts, those of the abbé Ferland, the R. P. de Rochemonteix and most of the authors who come after them, say that this event took place the end of May, 1736.

They are mistaken. On April 13, 1736, Toussaint Loizel wrote from Sainte-Ange among the Illinois to his brother who lived at Montreal: "Before I finish I must send you a word concerning the war which has been made against the Chickasaws where we have lost forty French. M. Dartaguettes commandant of the said post has been killed with seven officers of the troops, four of the militia. . . .

Then Loizel names to his brother some of the officers and soldiers who have been killed by the Chickasaws: "MM. de Sainte-Ange, son, Coulonge, Levillie, the young Declaude, Vincennes, la Graviere with M. Belcour and another of his brothers and the fourth with a broken shoulder, M. de Tonty, d'Esgly, and the old Lalonde and Antoine Carriere, Louis Langlois, M. Dutilly, son. The others are Frenchmen of Quebec. You do not know them."*

The letter from M. Loizel as we have just seen is dated

*Pere Camille de Rochemonteix, *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle France au XVIIIe siecle*, vol. 1, pp. 361, et seq.

*M. Phileas Gagnon has published the letter of Loizel in the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, vol. VI, p. 110.

April 13, 1736. Therefore M. de Vincennes and his companions were put to death before April 13.

But we have a contemporaneous authority who gives us the exact date of the death of M. de Vincennes.

June 29, 1736, Father Mathurin LePetit, superior of the Jesuits of Louisiana, wrote to the general of his order at Rome: "Patrem Senate provincia tolosana qui in eadem regione alteram illinensium missionem a 18 mensibus tantum sed magna jam linguae peritia et majori studio excolebat, belli casus nobis prepepuit die dominica palmarum."

(On palm Sunday the fortune of war took away from us Father Senat of the province of Toulouse. He had charge of another mission of the Illinois in the same country for only eighteen months but he already knew the language and was still more remarkable for his zeal.)*

Two years later, June 25, 1738, Pierre LePetit, writing again to the general of his order, repeated the fact that Father Senat had been burned on Palm Sunday, 1736:

"Post Multos rumores, tandem facti sumus certiores P. Antonii Senat generosam caritatem gloriosa martyrii corona fuisse donatam eo ipso die (dominica Palmarum a 1736) quo comprehensus fuit a barbaris nostraegentis hostibus vulgo dictis Thikakas."

(After many rumors we are at last certain that Father Antoine Senat has been recompensed for his generous charity by the glorious crown of Martyr. On the same day (Palm Sunday, 1736) that he was made prisoner by the savages enemies of our nation commonly called Chickasaws.)†

Father Senat and M. de Vincennes being put to death together, it follows that the latter was burned Palm Sunday, 1736, that is March 25, 1736.

It is very difficult to establish the precise place where M. de

*The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. LXVIII, p. 308.

†The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. LXIX, p. 28.

Vincennes was put to death. However all witnesses seem to agree in placing the forts of the Chickasaws near Fulton, Lee County, Miss., U. S.

The sources to consult on the last campaign and the death of Francois-Marie Bissot de Vincennes are:

Letter of M. Cremont to the minister, 1736. Original of this letter at the Archives of the Marine, in Paris. A resume of it is found in the Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes for 1905, vol. 1, p. 542.

Account which Sr. Drouet de Richerville tells of the engagement which M. D'Artaguette had with the Chickasaws in the month of March, 1736. Original of this account at the Archives of the Marine, in Paris. A resume of it may be found in the Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes for 1905, vol. 1, p. 452.

Recital of the march and of the defeat of M. Dartaguiette told under the name Parisien. Original of this recital in the Archives of the Marine, at Paris. Resume in the Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes for 1905, vol. 1, p. 453.

Anonymous account of the defeat of M. Dartaguiette. Original of this account at the Archives of the Marine, in Paris. Resume in the Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes for 1905, vol. 1, p. 453.

Recital by M. de Bienville of his expedition to the country of the Chickasaws, of the non success of his enterprise and of his retreat. Original at the Archives of the Marine, in Paris.

List of the troops and militia who made the campaign against the Chickasaws, 1736. Archives de la Marine, at Paris.

Banishment of the Jesuits from Louisiana, in Documents Inedits of Father Carayon, XIV, p. 24.

Letter of the Jesuit father, Le Petit, to the general of the Jesuits, New Orleans, June 29, 1736, published in Jesuit Relations and Other Documents, vol. LXVIII, p. 308.

Letter of the Jesuit father, LePetit, to the general of the

Jesuits, New Orleans, April 24, 1738, published in *Jesuit Relations and Other Documents*, vol. LXIX, p. 28.

June 21, 1737, M. de Bienville wrote to the minister: "The Peanghikeas among whom we have a post where the late M. de Vincennes was in command have almost all left their village since his death, except about fifteen men who are still with Sr. de Sainte-Ange. They have gone higher up on the Wabash to another village. I foresee that if this station is deserted we will be disturbed by the Chickasaws at this post where the garrison is not strong. This circumstance and the recent and repeated attempts of the English to penetrate into the colony by way of the Ohio river by which they descend into the Wabash country has determined me to replace this fort about forty miles further down at the mouth of this river. I would have done this sooner if the savages had been willing to follow us there. It appears now that the Kickapoos and the Mascoutins who came two years ago to set up their village with the Miamis do not get along well with them, and M. de la Buissoniere assures me that if one should invite them, they would settle there. I sent him orders for this change which would not cost much and I hope that Mgr. will approve of them. I only fear that Sr. de Linquetot, an officer of Canada who is in command among the Miami and the Ouyatanons may be opposed to letting the Kickapoos and the Mascoutins go, because these two nations belong to his department. I will write to him on this subject."*

On the next day, June 22, 1737, M. Salmon wrote in his turn to the minister: "I learn through Sr. Delaloire that the Sr. Sainte-Ange, son, who went up to the Wabash country to take command of that post in place of the late M. de Vincennes, reports to him that the savages who are his neighbors desire to abandon him, that some of them have already gone away to their ancient village of Vermillion to such a number

*J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 310.

that there remain not more than twenty-five men. That if they go away, as seems likely, he will be forced to disband the garrison who will find themselves at the mercy of their enemies. He adds that he has not seen, up to the present, that this post was of great use and that it causes much expense. For myself I think that truly it is more expensive than it is useful. However it might be of consequence to preserve to prevent the English from settling there which they will certainly do if we abandon it.”*

It has been written that François-Marie de Vincennes was chevalier de Saint-Louis. No. -- In the official list of the officers killed by the Chickasaws on March 25, 1736, one reads Chevalier de Vincennes. That does not mean that M. de Vincennes was chevalier of Saint-Louis. Bescherelle says, “The eldest son of a baron, the third son of a count, the fifth son of a marquis were called chevalier without belonging to any order of chivalry.”

All that was imitated in New France. Here, generally, the title of Chevalier was given to the younger brothers of a family. François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes adopted the title of chevalier probably because he belonged to the junior branch of the Bissot family.

THE FAMILY MARGANE DE LAVALTRIE SERAPHIN MARGANE DE LAVALTRIE†

Seraphin Margane de Lavaltrie was originally from Paris, parish Saint-Benoit. He was the son of Sabastien Margane

*J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 312.

†M. de Lavaltrie signed his name either “La Valterrie” or “L-Valtrie.” It is written la Valterrye, La Valtrye, La Valtery, La Valterie, la Valterrie, la Valtrie, and Lavaltrie. We adopt this last orthography which is the most commonly used in our time and which moreover approaches most nearly that employed by M. Lavaltrie himself.

and of Denise Jonnot. The father of Seraphin Margane was an advocat in the parliament of Paris.

Lieutenant of the guard of Marshal d' Estrades, then lieutenant of the regiment de Lignieres, M. de Lavaltrie took service under M. de Tracy, in 1664 and went to New France as a lieutenant in the regiment de Carignan in 1665.

When Louis XIV recalled Carignan's regiment back to France he informed the officers and soldiers that he would be well pleased to have a certain number of them settle in the new country. Several officers and more than four hundred soldiers adopted therefore Canada as their new fatherland. The soldiers received a little sum of money to assist in their settlement and the king gave the officers concessions of land. M. de Lavaltrie was among those who stayed here. October 29, 1672, the intendant Talon granted to him an important concession of land.

The conditions imposed on M. de Lavaltrie were the same as those of all the grants of seigniorys at this time; faith and homage to the Chateau St. Louis at Quebec to maintain or cause to be maintained residence and occupation on the concession; the preservation of the forests of oak; a report to the king or to the company of the West Indies of the mines and minerals found in the seigniory, etc., etc.

In 1673 M. de Lavaltrie joined M. de Frontenac's expedition to Lake Ontario. The governor left Montreal toward the end of June with a fleet of four flat boats and 120 canoes which carried six cannon and 400 men. The principal object of M. de Frontenac's voyage was to build a fort on the shores of Lake Ontario, whence one could watch the movements of the Iroquois. The fort was placed on the point near the mouth of the Catarakoui river and received the name of Frontenac. Today it is Kingston. They worked with such ardor that the fort was built in several days. M. de Frontenac was even able to leave a commandant with a little garrison.

The official account of the expedition to Lake Ontario mentions M. de Lavaltrie's name several times.

The census of New France made in the autumn of 1681 informs us that M. de Lavaltrie was settled at his seigniory. He was then thirty-eight years old, his wife twenty-nine, their children Marie-Anne, thirteen, Charles eleven, François-Marie nine, Genevieve seven, Louise five, Pierre three, and Barbe eight months old. There were in the manor three guns and two pistols. The stables contained ten horned cattle. M. de Lavaltrie possessed twenty acres in cultivation. The census gives us also the names of the tenants of Seigneur de Lavaltrie: Gabriel Gibault, François Bottou, Antoine Deseve, Jean Cassavant, Pierre Guignet, Jacques Lafontaine, Pierre Lesiege, Nicholas Prunier and Claud Bourgeois.

Nicolas Perrot writes in his "Memoir on the Manner, Customs and Religion of the Savages of North America."

"I was sent in the spring of 1685 to the Bay des Puants with the commission of commander in chief of the furthest countries of the east coast and moreover of those which I might discover. M. de la Durantaye relieved M. de Lavaltrie who had been commandant in the country of the Iroquois."

If M. de Lavaltrie was commandant in the east before M. de la Durantaye he remained there very little time, for from 1673 to 1685 one notices his absence almost continually at his seigniory of Lavaltrie or at Montreal.

In 1687 in M. de Denonville's expedition against the Tsonnontouans M. de Callieres was commander general of the militia, divided in four groups as were also the king's troops, commanded by MM. Berthier Becard de Grandville, Le Moyne, de Longueuil and Lavaltrie. Again in this expedition M. de Lavaltrie showed his military qualities. On July 13 at a little distance from the principle village of the Tsonnontouans he rendered a great service to M. de Longueuil by sav-

ing the advance guard of his army from being surprised by the Indians.

In 1690 when Sir William Phipps was about to lay siege to Quebec, M. de Frontenac sent M. de Ramezay to M. de Callières, governor of Montreal, to order him to have the troops and the militia sent down. The recruiting of the troops and of the inhabitants was made so rapidly that three days later the contingent from Montreal arrived at Quebec. None of the numerous accounts of the siege of Quebec tell us that M. de Lavaltrie took part in the glorious defense of the capitol, but we have nevertheless the right to presume that M. de Lavaltrie was of the party with the brave militia from his seigniory.

November 12, 1690, M. de Frontenac, giving an account of the raising of the siege of Quebec to Minister de Seignelay, wrote: "I send you the rank of the officers which I have replaced since the reform of last year, since I could not still recognize them I have not acted in this matter except by the light which Monsieur, the intendant, has given me. He has considered it expedient, and I have, too, to find means of satisfying by certain marks of honor, which will cost nothing to the king those persons, who have rendered excellent service in the preceding campaigns and to whom M. de Denonville had promised a recompense. A fact which obliges me to add certain commissions to those who were captains, lieutenants and half-pay ensigns, but AD HONORES only, in the hope that you will not disapprove."

In the rank of which there is here question we see that M. de Lavaltrie received a commission of lieutenant in the place of M. de Louvigny who was made half-pay captain. M. de Frontenac thus recompensed M. de Lavaltrie for his good conduct in the expeditions of 1673, of 1687, and probably also at the siege of Quebec.

M. de Lavaltrie died at Montreal May 16, 1699, and was buried the next day in the parish church.

He had married at Quebec, August 12, 1668, Louise Bissot, daughter of Françoise Bissot de la Rivière and of Marie Couillard.

October 20, 1699, MM. de Callieres and de Champigny wrote to the minister:

"The sieur de Lavaltrie left a widow very poor with five or six children to whom his appointments and a stipend of 150 livres gave the means of living. They find themselves entirely deprived of it and, in consequence, of everything else. We can not, in so desperate a situation of this poor family, fail to beg His Majesty to continue at least the stipend in the name of the widow. May 31, 1700, the king sent a reply that he could not for the present grant to Madame de Lavaltrie the pension which she demanded. A little later the governor and the intendant returned to the charge and this time the king acceded to their demand. M. de Lavaltrie received a modest pension until her death at Montreal, March 1, 1783.

Of the marriage of Seraphine Margane de Lavaltrie and of Louise Bissot were born eleven children.

1. Marie Anne. M. de L., born at Quebec, June 20, 1668. Married at Montreal, October 28, 1694, to Ignace Boucher de Grobois.

In 1725 Madame Boucher de Grobois still lived at Boucherville.

2. Charles Seraphin M. de L., born at Montreal, August 5, 1669.

In 1691, the governor of Frontenac granted him a commission as ensign in the place of M. Boucher de Grandpré who was made half-pay lieutenant. This commission was confirmed by the king March 1, 1693.

In 1693, M. de Frontenac entrusted M. d'Ailleboust d'Ar-

genteuil with an important message for M. de Lavigny, commandant at Michelimakinac. Recognizing the braveness and the cleverness of the young de Lavaltrie, M. de Frontenac gave him instructions to escort M. d'Ailleboust d'Argenteuil and his eighteen companions through the most dangerous passages. M. de Lavaltrie had under his orders twenty volunteers and a certain number of savages from the Sault and from the mountain. The voyage out was accomplished successfully but on his return, in the first days of June, 1693, the escort was suddenly attacked by a large band of Iroquois who were hidden on the shores of a rapid near the island of Montreal. M. de Lavaltrie and three of his companions were killed. The other members of the escort succeeded in escaping.

3. François-Marie Margane de Batilly. Born at Montreal, November 13, 1672.

At the baptism of François Marie Bissot de Vincennes at Montreal, June 17, 1700, he was called François Margane, esquire, sieur de Batilly. He signed Batilly.

January 2, 1694, the young de Batilly was made ensign in the troops of the detachment of the Marine.

In the winter of 1703 and 1704 governor de Vaudreuil sent a party of 250 men against New England. He entrusted the command to M. Hertel de Rouville, half-pay lieutenant. This party ascended Lake Champlain and then Onion river. They followed first the Connecticut river as far as Deerfield which was the nearest settlement to Canada in this direction. This village was defended by some irregular fortifications and some redoubts which the snow covered. Deerfield had a garrison of twenty soldiers. M. de Rouville approached during the night of February 29. The patrols did not even suspect the presence of the enemy. Two hours before dawn the Canadians and their savage allies scaled the wall, penetrated the village and surprised the inhabitants in their sleep. They did not have time even to resist. The place was destroyed in

a few moments. Forty-seven persons were killed and 112 made prisoners. The village was reduced to ashes. The same morning M. de Rouville took the road for New France with his prisoners and his booty. The return journey lasted 25 days during which the hardy Canadians and their prisoners had no other food than that which the hunt could provide them.

M. de Rouville had lost only three Canadians and some savages. The ensign de Batilly was killed during this bold expedition. As M. de Vaudreuil relates in his account to the minister of the exploit of M. de Rouville against Deerfield, dated April 3, 1704.

"We have lost Monsieur only three Frenchmen and some savages. Among these is Sr. de Batilly, ensign, a very brave man, the second of his family to have been killed in the service of the king.

4. Genevieve M. de L., born at Montreal, July 12, 1675. Married at Montreal, January 3, 1696, Charles Le Gardeur de Lisle. Died at Montreal, November 30, 1702.

5. Madeleine Louise, M. de L. Born at Lavaltrie, November 27, 1676. Married at Montreal, December 11, 1698, Paul d' Ailleboust de Perigny, lieutenant in the troops of the detachment of the Marine.

M. de Ailleboust died at Montreal February 3, 1745. Madame d' Ailleboust survived her husband many years. May 22, 1761, she entered in retreat among the gray Sisters at Montreal.

6. Pierre Margane des Forets et de Lavaltrie, the ancestor of the present family.

7. Barbe M. de L. Born at Lavaltrie in February 1681. Married at Montreal, November 27, 1719, to Etienne de Bragelongue, chevalier.

8. Jean Baptiste M. de L. Born at Lavaltrie, November 3, 1683. He still lived in 1725.

9. François M. de L. Born at Lavaltrie September 9, 1685.

It is he whom the American historians and most of the Canadian writers of history consider erroneously the founder of Indiana, making him usurp the glory and the merit of his cousin François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes.

About 1700 Augustin Le Garduer de Courtemanche, lieutenant in the troops of the detachment of the Marine, well known for his exploits in war and his bold journeys into the east made an exploration of the coast of Labrador. Fishing and hunting were so advantageous in this unknown region that he decided to settle there. He made his settlement near the river of the Eskimo. In order to hold the savages in awe he also built a little fort in which he intended to place some armed men in order to be prepared for whatever might happen.

The young de Lavaltrie lover of adventures of the chase and of fishing followed his cousin M. Le Gardeur de Courtemanche to Labrador. He was put in command of the fort of Pontchartrain.

In 1711 young de Lavaltrie had the honor to come to announce to Governor Vaudreuil that the English had crossed the sea with a formidable fleet with the intention of laying siege to Quebec. Each summer, numerous vessels of the French and of strangers came to fish in the waters of Labrador. It was through one of these vessels that Minister Pontchartrain communicated this serious menace to M. de Courtemanche.

M. de Lavaltrie, in the month of October of the same year, announced to the population of Quebec the horrible shipwreck of many of the vessels of the proud Admiral Walker on the reef of Egg Island. The formal examination of M. de Lavaltrie before the provost of Quebec gives us the gloomy details of this shipwreck which saved the colony.

"Today, October 18, 1711, at three o'clock in the afternoon,

before us, Paul Depuy, esquire, commissioner of the king and his particular civil and criminal lieutenant in the court of the provost and admiralty of Quebec, filling, by order of His Majesty, the function of lieutenant general in the chair, in our court, and in the presence of the king's prosecutor there appeared François de Margane, Sr., de Lavaltrie, an officer serving at Fort Pontchartrain in Labrador. The same, after having taken the oath before us in the usual manner to tell the truth, has said and declared that on the third of last August, he was sent from Fort Pontchartrain by M. de Courtemanche, commandant of the said place to M. de Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor general of this country, to advise him that this city was in danger of being besieged by the English enemies of the state, according to the advice which he had received from Monseignor, Count Pontchartrain, and that some days after his arrival in the said city the said governor general had ordered him to return to his post and that if the enemy appeared again to bring him news of them as soon as possible. He reported that on the 18th of last September he returned to Labrador in a canoe with two Frenchmen and a savage and that on the first of this month having arrived at Egg Island, which is seventy leagues away from this city, he perceived signs of a shipwreck which compelled him to land and get out on land where he found on the sand, four dead men, whom he recognized as English; that he discovered, at the same time, a number of foot prints of men which he followed with his comrades for a space of two miles along which road they found only two good stranded ship-boats with seven or eight others which could be repaired. Returning to their canoe, they saw two men who were walking on the sand and whom they recognized by their speech, to be French. Having approached them they knew them to belong to the crew of the ship of a man named Vital Caron. They were guarding the booty and picking up more, which consisted of coats, coverings,

shirts, and other spoils which they showed to them and told them of the ship-wreck which had happened to the English fleet which was coming to besiege this city. Since they did not wish to go to the city, they had stayed at the place, declaring to him that they had seen seven English vessels on the point of land toward the northern coast near the said Egg Island, of which one was entirely broken up, two others half destroyed and three others driven to the coast of which one held with two anchors and the other which had three in her hull and the seventh vessel, which floated at sea, lay at anchor, which he believed was greater than any which are at present in the roadstead of the village. The others were smaller, however, he estimated at about three or four hundred tonnage. The largest, which lay at anchor, was swept away from its first bridge. The iron frame work of those which were burned was on the shore. That, he believed that, of these vessels, only the largest one could be repaired. That they had seen, moreover, on the shore fifty to sixty dead bodies among whom there were about twenty women, some of whom had children at the breast. That they had also seen on the sand, horses, sheep, dogs, fowls, a quantity of pack saddles for the work horses, three or four hundred great casks encircled with iron. They did not know if they were filled. Many wheel barrows, even a hogshead of wine, a keg and a half of brandy of which they had declared they had drunk several times with the said two men of the said Caron. That there were also on the shore, ropes, anchors, sail, planks, joists of oak, hides, pikes, pick axes, oaken planks, hinges and scrap iron of which they had seen heaps three feet in height and which the said two men told him, that the said Vital Caron had taken away two wagon loads of booty, which he had taken with him to the Seven Islands to divide among the men of his crew made up of twenty-five men, and that one of these had found twenty white sous in the pocket of one of the ship-wrecked and another a gold watch. That all these

things and his duty had made him give up his voyage and the profit which he could have made by doing as these others had done by taking the wreckage of this ship in order to come to this city to bring the news of it and to make his declaration of it, which he had done as quickly as possible, arriving in fifteen days in spite of the bad weather which he had during his voyage, which is all that he had to say. Demanding, moreover, that there be accorded to him the rights that belong to an informer he had signed the original with us on the day and the year above mentioned. So signed to the said original Margane de Lavaltrie, Lespinay, Dupuy, and Rivet Greffier, the undersigned.*

May 9, 1712, M. de Lavaltrie married at Beauport, Angeli-que Guyon-Desprès, daughter of François Guyon-Desprès, and of Madeleine Marsolet.

Before he had even settled on his seigniority of Beauport, Robert Giffard on March 14, 1634, created an *arrière-fief* in favor of one his compatriots, Jean Guyon. Giffard and Guyon were Percherons, but le Perche is next to Normandy. In eight years MM. Giffard and Guyon had six law suits concerning this *arrière-fief*. By his marriage with the grand daughter of Jean Guyon, M. de Lavaltrie became one of the proprietors of the *arrière-fief* Du Buisson. A veritable fatality was attached to this property. He was obliged to carry on three or four law suits to protect the little part of the seigniorial property which his marriage had brought him.

Sept. 19, 1713, M. de Lavaltrie associated himself with Bernard de Plaine to make a voyage to Cape Breton where M. de Plaine had some property. The partners intended to carry on there trading, fishing, and hunting. Since each partner had furnished an unequal amount of merchandise it was understood that he who had furnished the most, should take out in

*Archives du Canada, Correspondence generale, vol. F. 32, p. 171.

skins at the current price, the proportion which he had advanced. What was left should be divided half and half.

The partnership between M. de Lavaltrie and M. de Plaine did not last long. Labrador with its inlands abounding in game, its rivers full of fish attracted him. He soon returned there. Only instead of being under the order of M. de Courtemanche he fished and traded with the savages on his own account with the assistance of two or three hired men.

M. de Lavaltrie had no concession in Labrador. The country was large, the rivers numerous so that MM. de Courtemanche and Lavaltrie could easy carry on his exploits without annoying the other. As long as M. de Courtemanche lived there was no difficulty in this matter.

In June, 1717, M. de Courtemanche died at his estate on Phelippeaux Bay. Sieur de Brouage, the son of the first marriage of his wife, succeeded M. de Courtemanche as commandant of the post of Labrador. Young, ardent, jealous of his rights, he did not tarry to find that the coast of Labrador, in spite of its immensity, was too confined for him and M. de Lavaltrie.

Sept. 9, 1718, he complained of M. de Lavaltrie to the consul of the Marines. This complaint is found in the Archives du Canada. Correspondance Generale.

The following year, Sept. 6, 1719, M. de Brouage put in another complaint against M. de Lavaltrie.

M. de Lavaltrie who saw that M. de Brouage would succeed in driving him from Labrador if he did not attain a concession addressed himself to MM. de Vaudreuil and Begon. They presented his demand to the minister. May 25, 1719, the minister replied favorably to the governor and the intendant. However, the consul of the Marines did not take up the demands of M. de Lavaltrie until January 23, 1720.

Finally, May 26, 1720, the king signed the following con-

cession in favor of M. de Lavaltrie: "Today, May 26, 1720, the king, being at Paris, having heard favorably the demand which has been made of him by the Sr. de Lavaltrie for a grant of land on the coast of Labrador, to establish there still fishing for cod and for seal, his Majesty on the advice of M. the duke d'Orleans, regent, has granted to him the harbor called the St. Augustine River, on the coast of Labrador with two miles of frontage on each side by four miles of depth inland as well as the islands and the smaller islands adjacent to the said harbor to be possessed by him during his life. On condition that he will make the concession valuable by fisheries. His Majesty wishes and intends that he alone shall have, in the harbor and in the two miles granted to him as well as in the adjacent islands, the right to fish for seal and other fish. He is to do it with the vessels which shall come to the said harbor and to the land and islands granted by the present brevet, which allows him to trade with the savages who may be found on the coast of Labrador, without being held bound to pay to his Majesty or to succeeding kings any sum of money or indemnity. His Majesty has made him a gift by the present brevet which shall be registered with the superior council of Quebec and any other places where it is necessary. His Majesty in witness of his desire wishes to sign with his own hand this title counter-signed by me, secretary of state, and of his command and finances.

LOUIS.

FLEURIAH.*

M. de Brouage, who did not know that M. de Lavaltrie had obtained a concession from the king, complained bitterly of him to the minister in 1720.

Oct. 22, 1720, Governor de Vaudreuil wrote to the minister: "Concerning the complaints which Madame de Courtemanche

*Insinuations du Conseil Supérieur, cahier 5.

and her son made to me last year against Sr. de Lavaltrie I took pains to explain to him when I wrote to him last spring that it depended on the command which Seignior Brouage had over all the coast of Labrador and that, being under his order, he ought to have for him the regard due to his rank. That, moreover, he ought to do everything that he could to live on good terms with the said Sr. Brouage and with the lady of Courtemanche, who is his first cousin, since they are children of two sisters. Then I ordered him to leave home as soon as he received my letter to go and pay his respects to the said Sr. de Brouage and his mother. To report to them what he had taken in the boat which they had sent to him and to ask of them their friendship. The said Sr. de Lavaltrie advised me by his reply of July 17 that he was about to do promptly all that I had ordered him. I hope that in the future no more complaints from that quarter will come to the council. At least that Madame de Courtemanche will not continue in the bad humor on account of the jealousy, which she seems to have that others beside herself should settle on a coast, which she believes she ought to possess by herself. Being certain that there is nothing but this jealousy which can keep up in her, the bitterness which she shows against Sr. de Lavaltrie because he attracts the savages to him. But on the contrary she has treated him with much unkindness, not only in refusing him the assistance of powder, bullets and biscuit of which he had extreme need, but also in making her son forbid the captains who were fishing along this coast to furnish St. Malo any."

In 1725, M. de Lavaltrie, Zacharie Turgeon and Charles Turgeon, his son, both residents of Beaumont, and Joseph Filteau, resident of the isle of Orleans, formed a partnership to cultivate by thirds the post of St. Augustine. Turgeon was to furnish his boat called the Saint-Etienne of about twenty tons and he was to have a third of the profits and a third

share of the expenses for three consecutive years. Sept. 6, 1726, the partnership was dissolved, the Turgeons, father and son, retired on account of their share in the profits. The ship, the Saint-Etienne, remained the property of M. de Lavaltrie and Joseph Filteau, who continued together the exploitation of the post of St. Augustine.*

On the death of his mother, March 1, 1733, M. de Lavaltrie had inherited certain rights in the seigniori of Lavaltrie. Nov. 3, 1733, M. de Lavaltrie sold to his eldest brother, Pierre Margane de Lavaltrie, officer in the troops of the detachment of the Marine, "His right of succession, mobile and immobile, fruits and revenues, which he could have in the succession of the late M. Seraphin Margane de Lavaltrie as well as in that of the lady Louise Bissot, their father and mother, for the sum of 2,200 livres."†

The Seigniors under the French regime were often as poor as their tenants. It was not until four years later that the Sr. de Lavaltrie was able to pay off his debt of 2,200 livres to his brother.

Sept. 11, 1737, M. de Lavaltrie farmed out his post on the River St. Augustine, on the coast of Labrador, for the time and space of three years to Michel Petrimoulx, Charles Cheron and Nicolas Cheron, the elder, all of Quebec. The three partners were to carry on the business of fishing for seal of trading with the savages, of hunting, etc., etc., in the place of M. de Lavaltrie. This lease was made for the sum of 250 livres a year. The partners paid their first year's rent in advance.

In 1739, a sad event changed the destiny of M. de Lavaltrie. On the 29th of December his wife, Angelique Guyon-Despres, died at Beauport at the age of fifty-five years. She had given him a son, Louis-François Margane de Lavaltrie, born at Beau-

*Acte de Lonet, September 6, 1726.

†Acte de Adhemar, November 3, 1733.

port, Jan. 28, 1713. Eleven months before the death of his mother, on Jan. 22, 1739, at St. Thomas, young de Lavaltrie had married Marie-Anne Couillard. Left alone in his home, M. de Lavaltrie decided to become a priest. During the 1740 and 1741 he was busy arranging all his affairs and disposing of his interests.

Dec. 9, 1741, M. de Lavaltrie rented, from Sept. 1, 1742, to the same day of 1748, his estate commonly called St. Augustine, on the coast of Labrador, to Jean Baptiste Pommereau, lawyer of Quebec. M. Pommereau was to have possession during his lease of all the privileges granted to M. de Lavaltrie by the act of concession of May 26, 1720. This lease was made for the sum of 250 livres a year. It was understood between M. de Lavaltrie and M. Pommereau that at the end of this lease M. de Lavaltrie could not rent it to anyone without giving the preference to M. Pommereau.

His affairs in order, M. de Lavaltrie entered the high seminary of Quebec. He must have completed an excellent course of study for he received all the orders in less than two years. He was ordained priest by Mgr. de Pontbriand Sept. 22, 1742.

M. de Lavaltrie continued to reside in the seminary of Quebec assisting the curé of Quebec in the functions of Holy Minister. In Jan., 1746, Mgr. de Pontbriand appointed M. de Lavaltrie curé of the parish of Cape St. Ignace. Raised to the priesthood, when he was fifty-eight years old, sick and worn out, M. de Lavaltrie was not in condition to assume the duties of a Holy Minister in the country. In Sept., 1747, he returned to the seminary at Quebec. Mgr. de Pontbriand made him priest of l'Hotel Dieu at Quebec though he lived at the seminary.

M. de Lavaltrie died at the Hotel Dieu at Quebec, March 6, 1750, and was buried the next day in the cemetery of this hospital. It is said in his act of burial that he died "fortified

by the sacraments of the church and after having suffered with patience the pain of a long sickness and having given everyone an example of great virtue."

A word concerning the son of M. de Lavaltrie. We have been able to find neither the place nor the date of his death.

All that we can assert is that he died between Dec., 1743, and Aug., 1744. His widow remarried at Beauport, July 3, 1747. Louis Fournier des Carrières, cadet in the company de la Martiniere in the troop of the detachment of the Marine.

By her marriage with M. de Lavaltrie she had had four children.

1. Louis Francois Margane de Lavaltrie. Born at Beauport, April 6, 1740. In 1766 he was an officer in the troops of Louisiana.

2. Marie-Louise-Michelle M. de L. Born at Beauport, Sept. 19, 1741. Died at Quebec, May 17, 1784.

3. Marie-Anne M. de L. Born at Beauport, Sept. 19, 1742. Died at Quebec, Oct. 16, 1797.

4. Angelique M. de L. Born at Beauport, Aug. 27, 1744. Died at St. Thomas, Jan. 4, 1768.

10. Catherine-Alphonsine M. de L. Born at Montreal, March 11, 1690. Died Aug. 17, 1690.

11. Louise-Marguerite M. de L. Born at Montreal, Dec. 5, 1691. Married at Quebec, Oct. 28, 1713, to Claude-Charles Du Tisne, ensign of a company of the troops of the detachment of the Marine.

M. du Tisne, originally from Paris, of the parish St. Germaine d' Auxerre, came to New France in the beginning of the 18th century. In 1714 he obtained permission to serve in the troops of Louisiana. In 1722 he received the command of a company and the following year the king gave him the command of a post among the Illinois. He died among the Illinois in 1730.

One of the sons of M. du Tisne was burned by the Chickasaws, March 25, 1736, at the same time of M. de Vincennes.

VI.

PIERRE MARGANE DES FORETS AND DE LAVALTRIE.

He was born at Lavaltrie in 1679. He was admitted at the age of fifteen or sixteen years as petty officer in the troops of the detachment of the Marine.

Nov. 17, 1704, M. de Vaudreuil and Beauharnois wrote to the minister: "A Sr. de Batilly, ensign, who distinguished himself greatly in the party which Sr. de Vaudreuil sent this winter against the English having been killed there we propose to you Sr. de Forets, who has been a petty officer for a long time, to fill the position of his brother, who is the second of the family killed in the service of the king. He is a very good subject who deserves the honor of your protection. Both of them are children of an ancient captain in the troops of this country after having been in Carignan's regiment."

We must believe that the minister had many others to advance in rank before M. de Forets, since it was not until eight years later that he was promoted ensign. His commission is dated June 21, 1712. He is still designated under the name of M. des Forets.

In 1721 M. des Forets, or rather M. de Lavaltrie, for he had taken the name of his father in the interval, rose in rank. He was made Lieutenant. The delay had this time been nine years. M. de Lavaltrie, certainly took part in some of the campaigns of the troops of the Marine during the period between 1712 and 1721, but we can find no mention of it.

May 12, 1739, M. de Lavaltrie received the command of a company.¹

¹ Rapport sur les archives Canadiennes for 1904, p. 261.

Aug. 12, 1746, M. de Lavaltrie assisted, at the Chateau St. Louis at Quebec, at an important convention of the principle officers of the colony, military as well as civil, and of the residents of Quebec. It was necessary to make a decision concerning the importance of continuing or not the fortifications of Quebec. Minister Maurepas was of the opinion that these works were not necessary and that if they were undertaken it should be at the expense of the residents of Quebec. Opinion differed much. Most of the civil officers and of the merchants pronounced themselves in favor of the destruction of the work already begun. Some of them were in favor of suspending the work until a new order from His Majesty. Finally the majority was in favor of continuing the work. M. de Lavaltrie was among this number.

In the month of Aug., 1746, M. de Rigaud received from Gov. Beauharnois the command of a party of Canadians and Indians, who were to make a sally into New England covering Fort St. Frederic. He had under his orders 600 Canadians and 300 savages. Among his officers were Captain de Lavaltrie. An account of this expedition may be found in the Archives of Canada, Correspondance Generale.

M. de Lavaltrie was among the number of the officers of this expedition recommended as the most worthy of promotion and of the cross of St. Louis, which he received May 23, 1749.

In 1751, M. de Lavaltrie was at Fort Frontenac with M. de Vercheres.*

By a letter from M. de Longueuil to M. de Rouillé, April 21, 1752, we discover that M. de Lavaltrie was then commandant at Fort Niagara. M. de Celeron, commander at Detroit, had sent M. de Lavaltrie important dispatches begging him to have a soldier carry them to Fort Rouille (Toronto) whence they would be sent on to Montreal. This soldier disappeared.

*L'abbe Auguste Gosselin, *Le Fondateur De la Presentation: L'abbe Picquet*, p. 21.

He had probably been killed by the Indians. M. de Lavaltrie took much trouble to find the dispatches of M. de Celleron fearing that they had fallen into the hands of the English.

On Oct. 1, 1755, M. de Vaudreuil, governor of New France, held a conference at Montreal with twenty ambassadors from the Tsonnontouans. M. de Lavaltrie was among the officers who assisted at this conference. The principle orator was the chief Gaiachoton who presented several wampum belts to the governor. M. de Joncaire who had been adopted by the tribe was their interpreter. The savage etiquette demanded a certain delay between the presentation of the wampum belts and the reply of the governor. On Oct. 3 the Indian ambassadors received again M. de Vaudreuil and the officers who had assisted at the former conference.*

Dec. 13, 1756, there was held a new conference again at Montreal between M. de Vaudreuil and 100 ambassadors from various Indian tribes.

M. de Vaudreuil in order to dazzle these important personages surrounded himself with a brilliant staff. M. de Lavaltrie assisted at this conference also. The chiefs of the Iroquois of Sault Saint-Louis and of the Lake of the Two Mountains were also present. The speeches were numerous and long. M. Perthuis, who spoke Iroquois, as if it were his own tongue, was the orator on this occasion.

In August, 1757, M. de Lavaltrie took part in the siege of Fort William Henry situated at the lower end of Lake Saint-Sacrament (today Lake George). The French and Canadian troops were commanded by MM. de Montcalm and de Levis. They accomplished prodigies of valor. The Indians also fought valiantly. Colonel Monroe, commander of Fort William Henry, capitulated Aug. 9, 1757, after having put up an intrepid defense for nine days.

*E-B O'Callaghan, Documents relative to the history of the State of New York, vol. X, p. 345.

This glorious victory was, however, sullied by the massacre which the allied savages inflicted upon the English prisoners of war. There was, it would seem, imprudence on both sides. On the French side not enough precaution was taken to protect the English from the attacks of the savages. On the English side the inconceivable imprudence was committed of giving rum in abundance to the savages.

The following year on July 8, M. de Lavaltrie took part in the glorious battle of Carillon, which was the fruit of the military genius of Montcalm and of the valor of his troops.

Jan. 26, 1759, the king granted a pension of 400 livres to M. de Lavaltrie.

From a letter from M. de Vaudreuil to Minister Berryer of March 30, 1759, we see that M. de Lavaltrie passed the winter of 1758 and 1759 near Fort Duquesne, watching the movements of the English, with a certain number of Canadians and of Indians.

In a general table of the officers of the Marine serving in Canada, prepared in 1759 or in 1760 one reads:

"Lavaltrie Desforets infantry ensign in 1712, lieutenant in 1721 Captain in 1739."

In a postscript list of the officers of the troops of the detachment of the Marine prepared in 1761 or 1762 one reads concerning M. de Lavaltrie: "Rich, an honest man, a widower, out of condition to serve. Has remained in Canada."

M. de Lavaltrie did not survive long the change of regime. He died at Montreal Jan. 1, 1766.

He had married at Montreal Oct. 14, 1732, Louise-Charlotte d'Ailleboust d'Argenteuil. Of their marriage were born four children.

1. Louise-Jeanne M. de L. Born at Montreal, Aug. 8, 1733. Died Dec. 27, 1822, and was buried at Lavaltrie the 30 of the same month.

2. Marguerite-Charlotte M. de L. Born at Montreal Feb. 28, 1735. Died in the same place June 7, 1735.
3. Marguerite-Charlotte-Stanislas M. de L. Born at Montreal Nov. 13, 1739. Died at St Laurent April 29, 1749.
4. Pierre-Paul M. de L. Born at Montreal Aug. 14, 1743. The continuer of the line.

Pierre-Paul Margane de Lavaltrie.

He entered in the troops of the detachment of the Marine when he was thirteen years old. In 1759 when he was hardly sixteen years old, he fought bravely against the English. After the fall of Quebec and the capitulation of Montreal he went to France in order to continue to serve in the French army. In 1765 he returned to this country, at the request of his father, who was then eighty-seven years old and whose only son he was, to whom he wished to leave his seigniory.

In 1775 faithful to the new masters of the country M. de Lavaltrie took up arms to fight against the American troops who had invaded the Canadian territory, and was on the list of officers named in order of merit because they had shown themselves to be good subjects.

In 1791 England granted us a new constitution. The ancient province of Quebec was divided into two provinces, Upper Canada and Lower Canada. Each one having a legislative council and a chamber of the Assembly. The province of Lower Canada was divided into twenty-one counties.

At the election of deputies to the new chamber in the summer of 1792, M. de Lavaltrie was chosen deputy of the county of Warwick in which his seigniory was located. He kept his seat to the end of the first parliament, until May, 1796.

M. de Lavaltrie died at his seigniory at Lavaltrie, Sept. 10, 1810. He was buried two days later in the church of Lavaltrie under the seigniorial pew at the right hand side of the altar.

M. de Lavaltrie married at Terre Bonne, March 31, 1766, Marie-Angelique de La Corne de Chapt. She died at Lavaltrie Feb. 26, 1815, and was buried the next day in the parish church. Only one child was born of their marriage. Suzanne Antoinette, who married Charles Gaspard Tarieu de Lanaudière. Madame Tarieu de Lanaudière died at Lavaltrie, April 22, 1822, and was buried in the parish church under the chapel of the Holy Virgin. With her death disappeared the last member of the family of Lavaltrie, who had played so wonderful a role in our country for a century and a half.

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MARION COUNTY BAR

Reminiscences of the Early Marion County Bar

BY WILLIAM WATSON WOOLLEN.

The Constitution of Indiana of 1816 provided that the Judiciary of the State should be vested in a Supreme Court, Circuit Courts, and such other inferior Courts as the General Assembly might from time to time direct and establish. It was also provided that the Circuit Courts of the State should consist of a President Judge and two Associate Judges, commonly known as "Side Judges." These Courts were to be known and styled by the name of the County in which each of them were held. The President Judges were to be elected by the joint ballot of both houses of the General Assembly for a term of seven years "if during so long they behaved well." They each were to receive eight hundred dollars annually, payable quarterly out of any moneys in the treasury belonging to the general fund of the State. The Associate Judges were to be elected by the qualified electors of their respective Counties for a term of seven years, and receive for their services, two dollars per day, while attending Court in that capacity, to be paid by the Counties in which they resided upon the certificate of the Clerk of the Court as to the number of days in attendance.

Under these Constitutional provisions, the State by the Revised Statutes of 1843, was divided into twelve Circuits. Prior to 1852, the Fifth Judicial Circuit was composed of

Hancock, Shelby, Bartholomew, Johnson, Marion, Hendricks, Morgan, Madison, Hamilton and Grant Counties. The Hon. William Watson Wick, after whom I was named, was the President Judge of the Circuit, and Daniel R. Smith and Samuel Cory were the Associate Judges of the Marion Circuit Court.

Judge Wick was born in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, February 23rd, 1796. At the age of fifty-two he said of himself in an autobiographic letter, "I am fair; a little fat, having increased since 1833 from 146 to 214 pounds—six feet and one inch high, good complexion, portly—have been called the best looking man about town—but that was ten years ago—not to be sneezed at now—a little gray." He taught school in early life, and studied medicine first and then law; he then read chemistry principally by the light of log-heaps in a clearing. He settled as a lawyer in Connersville in December, 1819. In January, 1822, he was chosen Judge of the Circuit Court and moved to Indianapolis where he resided until 1860, when he moved to Franklin and lived with his daughter. He held many offices, concerning which he said: "Wick has committed much folly in his time—the principal of which has been holding offices, writing rhymes, playing cards for money, and paying other people's debts." He was joint author with Lucian Barbour in 1846 of "A Manual for Justices and Constables" under the Revised Statutes of 1843. It was well known, however, that Mr. Barbour did the principal part of the work, for Judge Wick did not like to work. He was an able lawyer and as a Judge presided with much dignity, and I think acceptably to the bar. In my boyish imagination, I thought he was the most wonderful man that I had ever seen, and it was this that made me conceive the idea of becoming a lawyer. Like poor Yorick, Judge Wick was "A fellow of

infinite jest, of most excellent fancy." A member of the bar with a very "shady" character died, and a bar meeting was held. Many fulsome eulogies were pronounced by various members of the bar concerning the life of the deceased. The presiding officer said: "I see Judge Wick is present, perhaps he has something to say." Wick arose and with much gravity said: "Gentlemen, I know myself better than anybody else, and when I die, I desire that no bar meeting be held," and with this implied rebuke he sat down. Based upon the three w's in his name he often said that when he died, his epitaph ought to be:

"Here lies double-you, double-you, double-you
Who ne'er again will trouble-you, trouble-you, trouble-you."

He died May 19th, 1868, and was buried in the Franklin Cemetery. William Wesley Woollen, in his sketch of Judge Wick says: "His grave is without even a head-stone to mark it. It is several inches lower than the cemetery's level, otherwise there would be nothing to show that the ground where his ashes lie was ever disturbed. * * * On either side are monuments commemorating the virtues of those who exercised but little influence upon their kind, and whom the State's history will never mention. Amid such surroundings is the final resting place of the genial pioneer with nothing to mark it save an indentation in the ground. * * * Standing by it a thoughtful man must realize the instability of worldly honor and human greatness. Alas, how transient and fleeting they are!"

Judge Smith by trade was a tailor, and by occupation a farmer. At that time and until his death he resided on his farm northeast of Millersville. After the expiration of his term of office, he gave some attention to the practice of law.

Judge Cory was a school teacher by profession and a farmer by occupation, and resided on his farm adjoining to that of my father in Lawrence Township. It was during that period of time that I first became acquainted with the Circuit Court of this County and some members of its bar. That acquaintance was brought about in this manner. The "Big Four" railroad then had not been built, nor were carriages and buggies in use in our part of the country. We traveled from place to place in "jolt wagons" and on horseback. Judge Cory came to Court on Monday morning and returned home Saturday afternoon on a gray mare with me behind him—it being my part of the job to take the mare home on Monday and bring her to him on Saturday.

The Court House of that early day—the first built in this County—was built by the State and County for joint use, and located in the center of the Court House square, with the front facing to the South. It was built of brick, trimmed with dressed stone, two stories high, and in size, finish and outside appearance, very much resembled the residence of Dr. George W. Mears, which is still standing on North Meridian street, next north of the Blacherne, except that the roof was steeper, and the front steps without a portico, were longer. The entrance was ornate. It had two large fire-places for the burning of wood—one in the east and one in the west side of the building. The rostrum and court desk was on the north side of the building, with the Clerk's desk immediately in front and fronting the tables arranged for the use of members of the bar.

The practice of law prior to the adoption of the Code of 1852, was very different to what it has been since. Circuit Courts then were not governed by a Statutory Code. They had jurisdiction in common law, equity and criminal cases, and

separate dockets were kept for each of these divisions. An attorney had to know to which of these divisions his cause properly belonged, and have it docketed accordingly. Lawyers then were not "case lawyers." Their knowledge of the principles of law had to be obtained from the text books and English Common Law and Chancery Reports, and not from the reports of the Indiana Supreme Court. The first session of that Court was held at Corydon, in December, 1816. No reports of its decisions were published until fourteen years after, the first volume of Blackford having been published in 1830. The adjudications of that Court for the first thirty-six years of its existence were embraced in the eight irregularly issued volumes of Blackford. These learned reports with a national and international reputation, may be said to contain the basis of the jurisprudence of this state—"The Common Law of Indiana." The practice that maintained during those thirty-six years was different to that which maintains now. Demurrers and motions were not presented by briefs but by the forensic efforts in open Court of the members of the bar. This was calculated to, and did make great, ready and learned lawyers—the peers of any in the United States. Among those of this class practicing at the Marion County bar, were: James Morrison, Oliver H. Smith, Ovid Butler, Calvin Fletcher, Simon Yandes, Lucian Barbour, John D. Howland, Philip Sweetzer, Jonathan A. Liston, David Macy, John H. Bradley, Hiram Brown, William Quarles, Hugh O'Neal, Abraham A. Hammond, Robert L. Walpole, John L. Ketcham, Horatio C. Newcomb, Jonathan S. Harvey, Albert G. Porter, John B. Dillon and John Caven. On this occasion, my remarks must of necessity, be limited, and confined to only a few of the men mentioned.

Of this retinue of distinguished men it can truthfully be

said that James Morrison was the Nestor of the bar. He was a Scotchman, and he and his brother, William, were two of the tallest, most erect and best dressed gentlemen in Indianapolis. He resided at the junction of Fort Wayne and Central Avenues, in a modest two-story brick house located on a quarter of a square with a very large and beautiful flower-garden to the north of it. His wife was a great lover of flowers, and the genius who developed the garden. He walked to and from his office and was very regular in his habits. He was very temperate except that he smoked almost incessantly in and out of Court. He was a strict Episcopalian, somewhat aristocratic; socially he was somewhat exclusive. His ideals were of the highest order; he was sensitive, and the embodiment of integrity and honesty. In his later years he was very nervous, shaky and irritable, due perhaps to his excessive smoking. Judge Tarkington, in "Bricks from the Old Court House" tells this story about a tilt that Mr. Morrison had in Court with Mr. Simon Yandes. Yandes was turning to take his seat after an earnest argument with Morrison and said something in a low tone. Morrison belligerently faced Yandes and in an excited tone said: "What! What's that you say? I don't allow any man to call me a rascally old Scotchman." Yandes straightening up to his six feet two resentfully exclaimed: "I did not say you are a rascally old Scotchman, I said you are a raspy old Scotchman." "Very well, sir," responded Morrison, calming down, "I accept your apology, but please do not repeat it." With ail, he was profoundly learned in the law and in addressing a Court, was one of the very ablest of advocates.

Oliver H. Smith was the leader and biographer of the bar. He was born December 23rd, 1794, on Smith's Island, near Trenton, New Jersey. He came to Indiana in 1817, was

licensed to practice law in March, 1820, and in 1839 became a citizen of Indianapolis. I knew him best as a neighbor of my grandfather. He owned and resided on the northwest quarter of the square where the Interurban Station is now located, and lived in the most pretentious house in the city, built in the center of the lot, of brick, trimmed with stone. My grandfather, a farmer, lived in a modest one-story wooden cottage on the corner lot diagonally across the street where now stands the Hotel Metropole. Smith was an ambitious man and a good neighbor. He was five feet ten inches high, broad-shouldered and weighed about one hundred and eighty pounds. His eyes were dark, his hair, which stood erect on his head, was black. He had large shaggy eyebrows, and the general outline of his features denoted energy, pluck and endurance. He was a diligent student and truly a great lawyer. He was the author of "Early Indiana Trials and Sketches." In this he says that good common sense is the foundation upon which the superstructure of an education for a lawyer must rest. "The student should have a good, sound English education; he should spell well, read well, and write well, and understand the principles of arithmetic and English grammar." He adds: "A fine looking young man called upon me one day, desiring to study law with me. I inquired of him as to his education. He answered, 'I am a graduate of an Eastern College; I understand Latin, Greek and Hebrew; I stood No. 2 in a large class of graduates.' I said, 'Do you spell well?' He answered, 'I presume so, but I never thought much of that.' I said, 'Spell balance.' He spelled it 'ballance.' I said, 'That won't do. Do you read well?' He answered, 'Certainly.' Then read this. He read, 'My name is Norval on the Grampian hills.' I said, 'What was his name *off* the Grampian hills? Do you write well?'

He answered, 'No, I never could write much; indeed I never tried to learn. Our great men East can scarcely write their names so that they can be read.' I said, 'Let me see you write.' He scratched off some caricatures looking like Greek or turkey tracks. 'That is sufficient; your education is too imperfect for a lawyer; the dead languages may be dispensed with, but spelling, reading and writing can not be.'" Mr. Smith died at Indianapolis, Saturday, March 19th, 1859. Gen. John Love was his son-in-law.

In those early days, the triple firm of Fletcher, Butler & Yandes, consisting of Calvin Fletcher, Ovid Butler and Simon Yandes, had the most extensive practice throughout the Fifth Judicial Circuit. Their business largely consisted in the making of collections for eastern merchants. They all became wealthy and this was due to their integrity and strict attention to business, and the acquiring of title to real estate taken for debts due to their clients.

Calvin Fletcher, the senior member of the firm, was born in Ludlow, Vermont, February 4th, 1798. He came to Indianapolis in September, 1821, when there were only "a few newly erected cabins" in the place, and commenced the practice of law, and for twenty-two years traveled twice annually over the Fifth Judicial Circuit. In 1852 he was appointed Prosecuting Attorney of the Circuit, which office he held for about one year, and then resigned. It was during this time that the celebrated Indian murder case at Pendleton was prosecuted by Mr. Fletcher. Four men were convicted of murdering eight Indians and hanged. This brought him into prominence and a successful future awaited him. In after years I became well acquainted with him. He was the most energetic, industrious, persevering, social, temperate and economical lawyer that I have ever known. It was these qual-

ities of character that made his career so successful and to be known as the wealthiest man in Indianapolis. He was a successful lawyer, banker, railroad promoter, and farmer. He was the senior member of the banking firm of Fletcher & Sharpe which was the leading bank of this city during his connection with it. The bank at that time was located at the corner of Washington and Pennsylvania streets in the College Hall building. My office was upstairs in a small back room of the same building. It was a custom of Mr. Fletcher to ride to the bank in the morning on horseback, hitch his horse, look over his mail and then, during the farming season, ride to his farm, the largest in the county, just east of the city on the Pendleton road. He kept no buggies or carriages; his was too simple a life for that. John B. Dillon, the Indiana historian, said of him that "As a speaker his language was forcible. His reasonings were generally brief and pointed, and were always understood by those to whom they were addressed. He belonged to the class of 'business speakers,' and he seemed to care very little for the arts of rhetoric and logic. He could on proper occasions, use his power of sarcasm with great skill." He was about five feet eight inches high and was strongly and compactly built. He had dark brown hair and gray eyes. His features were symmetrical. He died May 26th, 1866, his residence at that time being on a quarter of a block at the corner of Pennsylvania and Tenth streets, where Mrs. Samuel E. Perkins now resides. He was a devout member of the Methodist Church, and for thirteen years was superintendent of a Sunday School. The Fletcher Methodist Episcopal Church, built on the site of his former residence, was named in honor of him. It has been truthfully said of him, that he "was one of the men who made Indianapolis what it is, and his influence was always for the good."

Ovid Butler was born February 7th, 1801, at Augusta, Oneida County, New York. I became acquainted with him and his beneficent work, when he and Elder John O'Kane were promoting the building of the Northwestern Christian University, afterwards known as "Butler College." At that time he owned a farm, the southwest corner of which was at Fort Wayne and Central Avenue. The University building was constructed in a forest on the northeast quarter of the farm, Mr. Butler having given the land to the institution and largely endowed it. I afterwards graduated from the Law Department of that University. Mr. Butler was a great lover of trees, this fact being in evidence, even to the present day, by the great number of fine forest trees standing on what was then his farm. He subdivided the south half of the farm and named the principal streets after our native forest trees. An exception to this was the name of "Forest Home Avenue," which was then the most northern street of the city and ran east and west in front of his home, also built in the midst of the forest, and known as "Forest Home." Mr. Butler in stature and build was rather under size; his movements were not hasty; his speech was chaste and well chosen. He was a prominent member of what then was known as the Central Christian Church. He was not an eloquent lawyer, but was a great counselor. It was his part to have charge of the office, and advise his associates and clients. He retired from the practice of law several years before his death. His latter years were leisurely and quietly spent in reading and contemplating choice books at Forest Home. It was my privilege to take his deposition in the library of that home not long before he died. A good man and beneficent citizen passed away, when he died July 12, 1881. The good results of his beneficence have been far reaching in this State and the

Middle West, and the end is not yet. He was the first in this State and so far as I know, in this country, to conceive the idea of establishing a University.

Simon Yandes in person was over six feet high, narrow chested, with sallow complexion, light hair, gray eyes and wide mouth. His speech was slow and hesitating, attributable to a slight stuttering. He was not an orator, but his earnest simple plain spoken words were very effective, both in addressing the court and jury. During his association with Messrs. Fletcher and Butler, it was his part to look after their local business, and he performed it well. In after years he was partner of Oliver H. Smith, who was his particular friend and admirer. Concerning him Mr. Smith says: "He was one of the few men upon whose word, faith and integrity I could rely under all circumstances. Surrounded by all kinds of temptations, Mr. Yandes was one of the most conscientious men in professional and private life I ever knew." If I had listened to him and taken his advice, I might now be wealthy instead of being poor. I had earned and had at my command about one thousand dollars. He advised me to invest it in the stock of the Bellefontaine Railroad Company, which was selling at less than twenty-five cents on the dollar. He was sure that it would advance, and it did, and as I recall, sold for about ninety-five cents on the dollar. I did not heed him, and put my money in the hands of a partner to buy horses for the government. In six months time I was insolvent, with an indebtedness of \$5,500.00 to pay. Mr. Yandes was a very stanch Presbyterian and devised and bequeathed his estate principally to Missions and feeble Churches of that denomination. For many years the Johnson Block, located on the lot where the State Life Insurance Building now stands, was one of the most pretentious business buildings on Washington

Street. The second story of it was used for law offices and the third for sleeping rooms. Kilby Ferguson, Robert L. Walpole, James N. Sweetzer, John Caven, John B. Dillon, Simon Yandes and John L. Ketcham, all lawyers and bachelors, except Mr. Ketcham, had offices on the second floor, which was known as "Bachelors' Roost." Mr. Yandes had two rooms, one he used as an office and the other as a sleeping room, and these he occupied until the building was torn down to make place for the insurance building.

Another prominent firm was that of Barbour & Howland, consisting of Lucian Barbour and John D. Howland. Their office was up stairs at the northwest corner of Washington and Meridian streets. They had a very large civil and probate practice. They were joint authors of "A Manual for Executors, Administrators and Guardians," published in 1862. This was the first book of its kind published in this State and for many years was recognized as authoritative upon the subjects treated in it. It was generally understood that Mr. Howland did the principal part of the work and while junior in years, and as a member of the firm, his name took precedence in the authorship of the book.

In my boyhood days it was customary in our part of the country to have Fourth of July celebrations. The Sunday Schools from the surrounding country would gather at a central point, march with banners upon which were various designs and mottoes, to a grove prepared for the occasion, listen to the reading of the "Declaration of Independence," the delivery of an oration by some one chosen for the occasion, and partake of ginger cakes and lemonade. It was on one of those occasions in a beech grove where Lawrence is located, that I first saw and heard Lucian Barbour speak. That speech was delivered, as was his custom, in plain, simple

English, without any attempt at embellishment or oratory, and when he had finished we all understood what he had said and talked about. He was born at Canton, Connecticut, March 4th, 1811, and graduated at Amherst College in 1837. After his graduation he moved to Madison, Indiana, and read law with Stephen C. Stevens, a Judge of the Supreme Court. He settled permanently in Indianapolis in 1839, and died there July 19, 1880. In 1848 President Polk appointed him United States District Attorney for Indiana. He was a member of the 34th Congress. In person he was tall and commanding, hair sandy, inclined to red, eyes light, features prominent. The stoop of his shoulders indicated that he was a great student, and this was emphasized by the wide extent of his knowledge. He took great interest in horticulture and agriculture, and much pleasure in planting fruit and forest trees. An evidence of this, is the beautiful grounds surrounding the home of Mr. Frank D. Stalnaker in North Meridian Street, which was originally built and improved by Mr. Barbour for his home. Mr. Barbour much enjoyed company and especially that of children. He wore glasses when at work at his desk, and if one came into his office he did not take them off but lifted them to his forehead, squared himself in his chair and conversed readily and freely. He was a man of high moral character and sterling worth. His most pretentious literary work was that of preparing and editing in connection with Walter March and George Carr the Revised Statutes of 1852, in two volumes. This was a very serious undertaking. It was generally understood that Mr. Barbour performed the major portion of the work. It was most excellently done. In June, 1853, John Freeman, a colored man, was arrested in this city as a fugitive slave. Mr. Barbour, with the able assistance of John L. Ketcham and John Coburn, defended him. This was

Mr. Barbour's most celebrated case. He caused a writ of habeas corpus to be issued for Freeman by Stephen Major, the haughty Judge of the Circuit Court, who refused to sustain it, announcing the startling proposition that as the Constitution recognized the fact of African slavery in its provisions for the forcible capture and return of all persons owing service or labor fleeing from one state to another, and as all slaves were black, the presumption at law must be that all black men were or had been slaves. This looked bad for Freeman, but his counsel did not despair of ultimately winning his case, and by great and persistent labor they did win it. Freeman continued to reside in Indianapolis until the time of his death. I knew him well as a very worthy citizen.

John D. Howland was born in Baltimore, April 29, 1818. While he was yet a boy the family moved to Brookville, Indiana. He married a daughter of Alfred Harrison, who for many years was a prominent banker and highly respected citizen of Indianapolis. He was the father of Louis Howland, editor of the Indianapolis News; Hewitt Howland, editor of the Bobbs-Merrill publications, and Caroline Howland, a litterateur. During his latter years he lived in his elegant residence at the southwest corner of Capitol Avenue and Michigan street. He was quick in his movements, had a congenial disposition and hosts of friends. It was a pleasure to be counted as one of them. I knew him well, and held him in high esteem. He dressed neatly and elegantly. He had a ruddy complexion, grayish hair, sparkling eyes and wore gold rimmed glasses, which he lifted to his forehead when he was at work at his desk. He was very industrious and a great lover of good literature. To him must be given the credit of promoting the first public library in this city. It is now known as the Indianapolis Public Library, and has just taken pos-

session of its five hundred thousand dollar library building. He was a very able lawyer and was strong in speech both before the court and jury. His appointment as Clerk and Master Commissioner of the Federal Court was not because of any "political pull" but in recognition of his worth. That position he held with great credit to himself and to the entire satisfaction of the people until the time of his death, which occurred December 5, 1877. He was a member and vestryman of the Episcopal Church.

David Wallace, the father of Gen. Lewis Wallace, author of "Ben-Hur," and William Wallace, the well beloved lawyer of this city, was born in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, April 24, 1799. He was admitted to the bar in 1823 at Brookville, Indiana. In 1837 he was elected Governor of Indiana and moved to Indianapolis, where he continued to reside the remainder of his life. He held many offices. In 1856 he was elected Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and held that office until he died, suddenly, September 4, 1859. It was during these years that I knew him. His residence, a large two story frame building, was at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and New Jersey street. As I knew him, he was of portly build, with black hair, dark sparkling eyes and ruddy cheeks. He was a man of much good humor and one who enjoyed a good joke. As an orator he had few equals. His ability was such that he was constantly in demand for public addresses. His home life was most delightful, and young people enjoyed the privilege of being there at the many entertainments given by him and his wife, who was equally as good a hostess as he was a host. As a Judge he was able and impartial. He was elected to Congress in 1841, made a member of the Committee of Ways and Means and voted in favor of donating \$30,000.00 to Prof. Morse to assist him in construct-

ing a telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore, it being the first to be constructed in the world. For this act he was ridiculed by his political opponents, but he lived to see the telegraph established in nearly all the countries of the world, and the wisdom of his action acknowledged by all.

John L. Ketcham, son of Col. John Ketcham, was born in Shelby County, Kentucky, April 3, 1810. He was brought by his father to this State in 1811, the Colonel being unwilling to raise his family under the baneful influences of slavery. Mr. Ketcham graduated at Bloomington, Indiana, in 1834, and then came to Indianapolis where he lived until his sudden death. He was a man of about the average height with broad shoulders, and was one of the finest specimens of physical manhood that I have ever known. Erect above his shoulders was a Websterian head—indeed, he constantly reminded me of a fine engraving that I had seen and admired, of Daniel Webster. He was pugnacious. These advantages with a comprehensive knowledge of the law and a fine and well modulated voice, made him an eminently successful lawyer. He commanded and enjoyed a large practice. His large and capacious office at the time of his death was upstairs at the corner of Meridian and Washington streets, and in it was found the largest and most select law library of any single lawyer in the city. I was Mr. Ketcham's friend, and why should I not be? I have already said that I failed in business with an indebtedness of \$5,500.00 hanging over me. Incident to that failure, I was sued by a leading bank of this city on a note for \$3,000.00. The issue made in the case had to be determined upon the evidence of two witnesses, namely: myself and one of the officers of the bank. My veracity was at stake. I employed Mr. Ketcham to defend me. That there might be no mistake as to whom credit was to be given, he

submitted to the jury interrogatories covering every fact attempted to be proven in the case. The jury answered every one of them in my favor with a general verdict in my favor. Mr. Ketcham was a great lover of music and the leader of the choir in the Fourth Presbyterian Church.

John B. Dillon was an eastern man and as I have already stated, had his office in the Johnson Building, with a living and sleeping room in the same building. He never got far away from his headquarters. He was a bachelor, very quiet and the most modest man that I have ever known. He wore a silk hat and dressed well in black with a frock coat which he always wore buttoned. His eyes were bad and his double dark-colored glasses, which he wore constantly, were fitted into heavy six-sided instead of oval eye-frames; these detracted from his appearance very much. He was a great student of history, and the author of a history of early Indiana—the first I think that was published. It has been out of print for many years. It is still regarded as the standard authority upon the early history of our State. The most gracious thing that Calvin Fletcher did when he wrote his will was to remember Mr. Dillon in it. Item Six reads:

“That my Executor be further charged with the payment of \$200.00 annually for 10 years to aid the Orphan Asylum and the poor of the City of Indianapolis, and \$1,000.00 to Miss Mary Rariden, daughter of my well remembered friend, James Rariden, deceased, who aided me in my early practice of the law, to be paid to her in three annual installments, without interest; and also \$500.00 to my friend John B. Dillon, a worthy man and neglected historian of our State.”

Robert L. Walpole before becoming a lawyer, if I am not mistaken, was a tobacconist. He was of rugged build and had everything but a pleasing appearance. His face was that

of the bull-dog outline. He was an incessant and filthy chewer of tobacco. His movements were slow and sluggish. He was a man of great perseverance and persistence, and by his application overcame the disadvantages of a very limited education. His chirography was unlike that of any other person—it was simply a series of up and down marks, like the ins and outs of a rail fence. Often he could not read what he had written until he was told what it was about. Occasionally the Court required him to have legible copies made of his pleadings in order to save time and annoyance of trying to decipher them. If he had a difficult complaint to write he would make a “stagger” at it. Of course a demurrer would be filed to it, and set down for argument. Counsel for the defendant would point out the defects of the complaint and almost invariably the Court would sustain the demurrer. Walpole would then take leave to amend and in doing so would embody in the amended complaint the suggestions made by the defendant’s counsel. It was in this way he perfected his complaint. Strange to say he had a large and profitable practice, both civil and criminal. If he was on the wrong side of a case he was never ready for trial, and would obtain continuances if it was possible to do so. One way resorted to, to secure continuances was to lose the papers. Perhaps his most celebrated case was that of the State vs. Longnecker. Longnecker lived west of the city and was killed by slow poison administered to him, and his wife was accused of having administered the poison. She was arrested, tried, convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary for life. Her conviction rested almost entirely upon circumstantial evidence. William P. Fishback prosecuted the case. One of the points made by Fishback was that the defendant manifested no grief when Longnecker died—did not even

shed a single tear. Walpole's reply was that deepest grief never finds expression in emotion and tears, but in silence. I was present at the trial and remember how stoically Mrs. Longnecker appeared in Court—perfectly unmoved by anything that was said or done. At the time of his death Walpole was residing in his large two-story brick residence on Meridian street north of where the First Baptist Church now stands. He was a bachelor and his maiden sister lived with him. He uniformly wore a silk hat and dress suit. He was popular with the rabble, but did not have many intimate friends with the better class of citizens.

I knew Hugh O'Neal very well. For a long time our offices were in the College Hall building. I used mine both as an office and living-room. During that time, I heard O'Neal make the same speech twice within twenty-four hours in the same case. That came about in this way: He was employed to defend a murder case, which attracted much attention. I do not now recall the title of the case. The taking of the evidence was finished in the afternoon and the case adjourned to the next morning. That night O'Neal walked to and fro in the large open hall between our offices and delivered his speech to the walls of the hall. Next day he delivered the same speech in open Court to the jury. It was a powerful argument and an impassioned appeal. He was a great orator—without an equal at the bar. He was of Irish descent, and the son of Thomas and Rachel O'Neal. He came of a family of distinguished lawyers. He was born in Waynesville, Ohio, November 7th, 1812. He came with his parents to Indianapolis, February 10th, 1821. He attended school at the Old Seminary which stood near the southwest corner of University Park. Its location is marked by a small stone monument. He entered the State University at Bloomington but did not

finish the prescribed course on account of the cholera having appeared in that town. He was a self made man. His education was very complete and his command of good English was quite wonderful. He was a man of medium size, and reminded me much of engravings that I had seen of Henry Clay. He carried himself with an erect and haughty bearing. He dressed well, wore a silk hat, and frock coat which generally was buttoned closely about him. He was a bachelor and not much of a society man. His ideals were of the highest order. He gave but little attention to the Civil practice, his chosen field being that of the Criminal law, in the practice of which he was very honorable and successful. His office in the latter years of his life was in the Aetna Building on North Pennsylvania street, and he boarded at Mrs. Morrison's on the same street, that being the leading boarding house in this city. He died December 27th, 1860, and was buried in Crown Hill Cemetery. No gravestone marks the last resting-place of his mortal remains. His nephew, Mr. Hugh O'Neal McVey, assures me that he intends to place a suitable marker at his grave. Mr. McVey is with us tonight and has with him a fine daguerreotype of his uncle, which no doubt you will be glad to see.

I studied law with the firm of Gordon & Conner, composed of Jonathan W. Gordon and Alexander H. Conner. Their office was the rear room over No. 10 East Washington street. The stairway up to it was a long and steep one. Many cart loads of coal have I carried up it to the office, for it was my duty as office boy, to carry it up, build the fires, and keep the office clean. This firm was widely known and had a large general practice.

Jonathan W. Gordon came to Indianapolis from Versailles, in Ripley County. He first studied medicine and graduated

as a physician. He abandoned that profession, and took up the study of law. He was then very poor and had to borrow books. He borrowed from Joseph Reeder Troxell "Starkie on Evidence." Accidentally he turned over an oil lamp and spilled oil on the borrowed volume and spoiled it. He thought he must replace the volume with a new one, and he did so. The spoiled volume he gave to me, and it is yet the most highly appreciated volume in my law library. It still bears the coloring and marks caused by the accident. Gordon's extensive medical and legal knowledge made him a formidable adversary in a case involving a question of medical jurisprudence. He truly was a great criminal lawyer, and as such was employed in many celebrated criminal cases. He was a great lover of fine books, especially if they were beautifully bound, and had uncut leaves. He would buy such books, even though he had not enough food in the house for his family. The first thing he did after buying a book was to write on the fly-leaf "Dog-ear no leaf of this book." He then would open the book, and cut the leaves apart as he read. He almost always read, not with closed lips, but in an undertone to himself. He was a very industrious man and did an immense amount of work that brought him much money which was recklessly spent. He knew not the worth of money nor how to take care of it. He was always in debt, and died a very poor man. He was an eccentric man without a balance.

Alexander H. Conner was the son of William Conner, the Indian trader, and was born on the "Conner Farm" on White River this side of Noblesville. He had a collegiate education. He was a very large man with a very pleasing round, ruddy face. He was possessed of a very congenial, happy temperament, and this made it easy for him to gather about him a large following of friends. He was popular in society. He

was a good but not a great lawyer, due in a great measure to his dislike for hard work and close application to the study of law. He had a large patrimony, and was in easy circumstances when I officed with him. Excepting my immediate family, he was the best friend that I have ever had. He was my endorser in bank when I failed in business, and was the first person to whom I went with the story of my failure. When I had related this story to him, he said: "You want to know what to do?" I said "Yes." He replied: "The first thing you must do is to take care of your family; then pay those to whom you owe the least for they probably will need their money most, and then pay those to whom you owe the most," which as a matter of fact, would include himself. About that time John C. Buffkins, whose health was failing, and who was Common Pleas prosecutor for the District of Marion, Hendricks and Boone Counties, resigned his office and recommended me to Governor Morton for appointment as his successor. I was appointed, regained my practice and paid my debts with accrued interest. Mr. Conner was appointed postmaster, and with the Douglas Brothers bought the Journal. Their partnership, like mine, proved unfortunate and broke up Mr. Conner. He felt his loss very keenly, and as a consequence left Indianapolis and went to Fort Kearney with the view of making a new start in life. He entered land in that vicinity and during the first year lived in a "dug-out" or sod home. He was successful in business and soon was living at Kearney Junction. I visited him in the summer of 1882 and found him well and pleasantly situated, and the same genial "Ham Conner" who years past had been my fast friend. Afterwards he was appointed one of the Commissioners to Codify the Laws of Nebraska.

Within a dozen years after the publication of the Code of

1852, there was a large acquisition to the Marion County Bar who already or soon thereafter, became distinguished lawyers, and added much luster to its high reputation. Most of these men came from out counties and had had their training under the Constitution of 1816, and the Statutes passed under it, and like those already named were well founded in the principles of the law. Among these may be named Benjamin Harrison, William Wallace, Napoleon B. Taylor, Frederick Rand, Reginald Hall, John S. Tarkington, David McDonald, William P. Fishback, Byron K. Elliott, John T. Dye, Addison C. Harris, Oscar B. Hord, Thomas A. Hendricks, Abram W. Hendricks, Joseph E. McDonald, John M. Butler, Conrad Baker, Henry W. Ellsworth, Fabius M. Finch and others whose names I do not now recall. An account of them or either of them, comparatively speaking, would be modern history, and not within the scope of this paper. I have known all of the gentlemen I have named. Excepting Judge Tarkington they all have passed over the river to the unknown country beyond. My stooping shoulders, shaking hand and faltering footsteps admonish me that in the near future I must follow them. When I have reached the brink of the river I will have the consciousness of having in some measure associated with the most of this coterie of learned, distinguished men and worthy citizens who contributed no small share to laying the foundations for this, "A No Mean City," and of having lived in the most wonderful period of the world's history. Steam navigation and railroading were in their infancy when I was born, May 28, 1838. The first voyage of a passenger steamboat, the Sirius, was made that year from London to New York in seventeen days. In that year there was not a mile of railroad in Indiana, and but eighteen hundred and thirty-eight miles had been completed in the United States. In 1848

I saw the first passenger train come into Indianapolis, and it about frightened me to death. My father could not get me near to the engine. Petroleum and natural gas then had not been discovered. Photography, wire and wireless telegraphs, telephones, linotypes, sewing machines, aeroplanes, submarine boats, interurban and street cars, automobiles, traction engines, the X-ray and India rubber and its uses were then unknown. Electricity had been bridled by Benjamin Franklin but not developed and put to use. It remained for Thomas A. Edison, the wizard of electricity at Menlo Park, to harness it and make it subserve almost every imaginable use of life. Not only has he done this, but what to me is most wonderful, he has invented the phonograph, by which the human voice in speech and song is caught and preserved for all future time. Not long since as I walked down street I stopped in at Pearson's music store and heard from a Victrola, William Jennings Bryan's great speech, entitled "Immortality" and Madame Schumann-Heink's wonderful song from Sampson and Delilah, entitled "The Wandering Night Song." It requires no great stretch of imagination to believe that the great speech and wonderful song might be found in the ruins of the Smithsonian Institution, a thousand years from now and delivered in the same natural tones in which they were first uttered. What could be more wonderful!

Gentlemen, this is my first and last address before our Association. Perhaps it has been too personal. I thank you for your presence, and patiently listening to the reading of it. Members of the Marion County Bar and the people of my native city have been good to me. Of this I have tried to be not unmindful, and have in some measure, contributed of my means and time to the uplift of this city. Again I thank you.

December 5th, 1917.

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The National Road in Indiana

BY

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Pen Drawings by
Willard C. Osler and
Wilbur Briant Shook

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The National Road in Indiana

By Lee Burns

To fully understand the reasons that led to the building by the National Government of the great highway that crosses Central Indiana from east to west, we must go back to the movements that led to the building of the original Cumberland road to connect the Potomac river with the Ohio.

A half century before the smouldering discontent of the English colonists along the Atlantic coast with their home government burst into the flame of revolution, it was seen that a conflict was inevitable between English and French for control of the country between the Ohio and the Great Lakes, and for military reasons alone the English realized that a way to the west should be established across the Allegheny mountains.

From Quebec and Montreal, along the noble river St. Lawrence, and across the Great Lakes, French traders and explorers had found an easy way by water to the fertile valleys of the Mississippi, Wabash and Ohio, and had established a chain of trading posts extending to the gulf.

Yet comprehensive claims to most of this territory were made by Virginia, and English traders, who had followed the tedious trails across the mountains, were as familiar with the Ohio valley as any Frenchman.

In 1748 certain gentlemen of Virginia, including Mr. Augustine Washington, of Mt. Vernon, organized the Ohio Land Company and were granted by the English government six hundred thousand acres of land on the great waterway, which they planned to develop.

These plans were checked and the long foreseen conflict for control of this western country began when, in 1753, the Mar-

quis Duquesne, the French governor of Canada, despatched a force to open a way from Lake Erie to the Allegheny and established an outpost upon the bank of the river. In that same year Robert Dinwiddie of London was appointed Governor of Virginia. He had become one of the stockholders of the Ohio company and realized that the interests of both his government and the company required that the French be prevented from gaining control of the Ohio territory. Accordingly a message was forwarded requiring them to depart and warning them that if they did not the English would drive them off by force of arms.

The messenger who carried this summons, was George Washington, half brother to Augustine Washington, of the Ohio Company. George Washington was then but twenty-one. He had however, served as a surveyor in the rough country of the Shenandoah, knew the life of the frontier, and was competent to undertake the journey through the pathless mountain forests.

The French received him courteously but made it clear that they intended to hold the Ohio as their own. At the forks of the Ohio they had built Fort Duquesne and over their highway of waters they were receiving reinforcements of men and munitions from Canada.

A few months later a little force of Virginians under Washington's command started westward across the mountains to expel them from this territory. But first a way had to be cut through the trackless forests, the difficulties of transportation hampered them at every step and finally, outnumbered two to one, they were defeated by the French at the battle of Great Meadows. This defeat was caused in a great measure by the lack of a roadway for the transportation of their supplies.

A year later Major General Edward Braddock, newly arrived from England, led a force of two thousand men, with artillery trains and baggage, through the wilderness against

Fort Duquesne. Week after week they worked with axe and spade, making a way through the dense woods of the mountains for their stores and artillery, only to meet defeat.

It was not until 1758 that Fort Duquesne, was abandoned by the French, and then it was the campaign of the English against their lines of communication along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes that forced their retirement. The next year Quebec was captured and control of the western territory reached by way of the St. Lawrence fell into English hands.

The treaty of 1763, which gave to the English all of the territory that the French had claimed east of the Mississippi, gave an impulse to the tide of migration over the mountains and into the fertile valleys of the west. This movement, that was checked somewhat during the war for Independence, began again in increased volume immediately after the fighting had ceased.

The claims of the United States to the western country had been made secure by the victories of George Rogers Clark at Kaskaskia and Vincennes and within a year after peace had been declared Washington again journeyed westward over the mountains studying the possibility of opening a means of transportation to connect the head waters of the Potomac with the Ohio. He was convinced that unless some better means were found for communication with the east the western settlers might find it to their interests to form an alliance with the Spaniards at New Orleans, which was readily accessible to them by water.

At his suggestion a series of conferences was held between representatives of Virginia and the neighboring states to consider the project, and from these discussions were developed far greater plans, that finally resulted in the formation of a federal union and the election of Washington to the Presidency.

During the next few years there was much discussion of the proposition to build a national road across the mountains.

Washington died before it assumed concrete form but its importance was recognized by everyone, although many leaders of public opinion, including Thomas Jefferson, believed that there was no constitutional authority for the construction by Congress of internal improvements.

Finally a solution was found that was satisfactory to everyone. Ohio was clamoring for admission to statehood, and in the act of Congress in 1802, enabling her people to form a state government, it was provided that five per cent of the amount received by the National government from the sale of public land within the state should be applied to laying out and building public roads from the navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic to the state, and through the same, such roads to be laid out under the authority of Congress and with the consent of the states through which they passed.

Similar provisions were afterwards incorporated in the acts that provided for the admission of Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, three-fifths of the fund being returned to the states for their own internal improvements.

In 1803 Congress made the first appropriation from the remaining two-fifths, the "two per cent fund", as it was called, for building a road across the Allegheny mountains to the Ohio. This was the official beginning of the great highway that finally ran for seven hundred miles to the Mississippi, crossing six states and costing, during the quarter century that it was under construction, nearly seven million dollars, a huge sum in those days.

This was equal to nearly half the amount paid by the United States for the great province of Louisiana, or, to use a more modern comparison, it represents the expenditures by this country for about four hours of the great war in Europe.

During the early years of the republic many other plans were proposed for highways and canals needed to bind together the scattered settlements, yet the national government under-

took nothing aside from the road to the west. The committee appointed by Congress to review this project recommended that the road across the mountains should run from the town of Cumberland, on the bank of the Potomac in the state of Maryland to some place on the Ohio river between Steubenville and Wheeling.

The debates in Congress show that a southern branch of the National road was also contemplated. In a speech made by Henry Clay he referred to the branch that would pass through Kentucky and Tennessee to Natchez and New Orleans. However, before the road was completed through Ohio and Indiana the great era of railroad building had begun, and the project for a southern highway was generally forgotten.

Immediately after receiving the report of their committee, Congress authorized the laying out and building of the Cumberland or National road, under the direction of the president of the United States, the road to be cleared of trees for a width of four rods and to have a carriage way in the middle paved with stone, gravel or sand.

This act was approved by Thomas Jefferson on March 29, 1806, and preliminary surveys were at once begun. The first contracts were let in April, 1811, for building the ten miles west of Cumberland, Maryland. During the next six years additional contracts were made and by 1818 United States mail coaches were running on the road between the cities of Washington and Wheeling, Virginia.

A flood of traffic immediately swept over this great highway. As early as the year 1822 it is recorded that a single one of the five commission houses at Wheeling unloaded over one thousand wagons and paid for the carrying of goods the sum of ninety thousand dollars.

Hardly had the road been completed when a constitutional question again threatened its existence. To secure funds for the constant repairs made necessary by the heavy travel, Con-

gress proposed to establish toll-gates along the road, but a bill for this purpose was vetoed by president Monroe on the ground that while the national government might have the power to make appropriations for public improvements, it had no right to assume jurisdiction over the land and levy tolls. Two years later, however, the same purpose was accomplished in a different way by a bill providing that the government should put the road in good repair and then turn it over for maintenance to the several states through which it passed. This bill was approved by President Monroe.

When the road reached Wheeling, Virginia, it came to a place where river navigation to the west was possible except during the winter, and steamers were plying the Ohio river when the Cumberland road was first opened. However, the interior parts of the states of Ohio and Indiana were becoming gradually settled and needed their own line of communication to the east. The demand for a road through the interior resulted in an act of Congress of May 15, 1820, by which there was appropriated \$10,000.00 for laying out a road between Wheeling, Virginia, and a point on the Mississippi river between St. Louis and the mouth of the Illinois river, the road to be eighty feet wide and on a straight line.

Had the road been built on an exact straight line as directed it would have been several miles south of its final location, but during the summer of that year the site for a permanent seat of government for the new state of Indiana was selected, and at the next session of the General Assembly of Indiana, held at Corydon the following January, the town was named Indianapolis, orders were given to have it surveyed, and a memorial was sent by the Assembly to Congress asking that the line of the proposed "Western National Road" which was "esteemed to be fifteen miles south" should be located so as to reach the new capital, attention being called to the fact that at no other

place along White River for a distance of thirty miles was there so good a location for a bridge.

Accordingly when, in 1825, Congress made an appropriation for building the road as far as Zanesville, Ohio, and completing the surveys farther west, they passed an amendment to the act of 1820, offered by Jonathan Jennings, of Indiana, providing that the road should pass by the seats of government of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

The original field notes for the final survey in Indiana, made in 1827, are in the office of the Chief of Engineers of the War Department at Washington and photographic copies of them are in the State Library at Indianapolis. They are in four volumes and give distances in chains, the locations of mileposts, the name of settlers along the line, and full notes of streams and other natural points.

This work was in charge of Jonathan Knight, Commissioner, and Joseph Schower, surveyor. The field notes are in Knight's handwriting. There is also at the War Department a map made in 1827 under the direction of Jonathan Knight showing the location of the road across the state of Indiana. This shows that the road was to run due west from the Ohio line to Indianapolis, passing through the towns of Richmond and Centerville in Wayne County. Centerville was then the county seat. Two other towns shown in Wayne County as being near the road, Salisbury and Vandalia, have since disappeared.

From Centerville to Indianapolis there were then no towns along the road nor were there any between Indianapolis and Terre Haute. Between these last two points the road as located ran in practically a straight line, a little southwest, missing Danville, Greencastle and Bowling Green, the newly located seats of justice in the counties of Hendricks, Putnam and Clay.

The map of 1827 shows what was known as the "State Road" running nearly parallel with the proposed National

Road throughout the entire distance from Richmond to Terre Haute. This State Road was one of the roads that had been laid out by the state from what was known as the "three per cent fund", which was that part of the fund received from the sale of government land that Congress had placed at the disposal of the state for its own road building. While this Indiana State Road had been surveyed, only part of it had been cleared when the National Road survey was made.

The State road was planned to be about 100 feet wide but the fund was so insufficient that little could be done but cut away part of the timber. This served to admit the sunshine and dry out the ground, but at first these state roads were little more than bridle paths through the stumps and in bad weather they were practically impassable.

The government road from Cumberland to the west was 80 feet in width, the timber was grubbed, the ground was graded, and the bridges and culverts were built of stone. In the center was a track 30 to 40 feet wide, on which stage coaches could race abreast and the plans provided that this was to be macadamized with ten inches of stone.

The Field Notes of the surveyors in Indiana begin as follows:

"June 13, 1827. Commenced for the continuation of the location of the Cumberland Road at a stake 2' 8" high on the line dividing the states of Ohio and Indiana, 1 chain and 5 links from a notched beech and 1 chain and 9 links from a notched poplar."

Trees were used for most of the points of location. The character of the heavy timber in Indiana is shown by the mention in the first few pages of the survey of such trees as elm, walnut, hickory, sugar, linn, oak, buckeye, beech, blue ash and hackberry.

Between the state line and the settlement at Richmond the survey passed near the clearings made by Robert Hill, Dr.

Griffith and Samuel Charles. Two other settlers were noted between Richmond and Centerville, and seven more were noted between Centerville and the Western edge of the county. Now and then an orchard was noted in the clearings. This upper part of the Whitewater valley was at that time the most thickly settled part of Indiana along the line of the road. Eight or ten other houses were noted on the way to Indianapolis.

The surveyors reached Indianapolis, then a town of about seven hundred inhabitants, on July 5, 1827. East of town they came to the Brookville road leading to the lower Whitewater valley country and furnishing communication with Cincinnati, then the principal market town of this western territory. The field notes show that the new road was to run by "Widow Pogue's ditch", then across Pogue's Creek, and then continue to the east boundary of the town of Indianapolis, where it was to follow Washington Street to the west boundary of the town.

The survey for the road west of Indianapolis was begun September 10, 1827. It started from a stake at the west edge of the town plat and continued as a prolongation of Washington Street to White river. It was noted that a bridge 356 feet in length would be needed and the site for the west end of the bridge was located north of a notched buckeye tree. Just east of Eagle Creek the road passed the house of a Mr. Harris and west of the creek was the house of William Holmes. These were the only settlements west of the river in Marion county. On the east fork of White Lick in Hendricks County the survey ran north of the house of John Furnas. Ten or twelve more clearings were noted between there and Terre Haute, each being on the bank of a water course.

After struggling for over a month through heavy forests, wading creeks, and running their lines through the swampy lowlands, the surveyors came upon Jenck's distillery about five miles east of Terre Haute and located the road a few feet to

the south. This must have been a red letter day although it was the 13th of the month. The next day was Sunday, which must have been passed in the neighborhood of the distillery, but on Monday morning the surveyors started on across the Harrison Prairie, which was covered by water about a foot in depth, and by nightfall they had reached the edge of Terre Haute at the east end of Wabash Street and had located the road along that street to the Wabash river. The survey had passed through heavy timber from the eastern line of the state until it reached the Harrison prairie. Three days later the survey was completed to the Illinois state line which was marked by a stake near a notched elm tree and 13 chains, 12 links from the "six mile tree" on the state line.

The survey was continued to Vandalia, then the capital of Illinois, and finally the road was located to the Mississippi river but it was never graded and bridged by the government beyond Vandalia.

Throughout the survey the field notes indicated locations where stone could be found for bridges and culverts and the necessity was noted for building a number of short canals to divert streams that might prove troublesome.

The first appropriation for opening the road in Indiana was made in 1829. The amount was \$51,600.00. It provided that the work should be carried on both east and west from Indianapolis under two superintendents, each of whom was to be paid \$800.00 a year. Homer Johnson and John Milroy were appointed superintendents and in June they advertised for proposals to cut the timber for a road eighty feet wide, remove the stumps in the central thirty feet and do the necessary grading. It was planned to work east and west from Indianapolis until the appropriation was exhausted but the settlers along other parts of the surveys made such objections to this seeming dis-



THE OLD NATIONAL ROAD BRIDGE
OVER WHITE RIVER AT INDIANAPOLIS

From a drawing
by Willard C. Osler

crimination that word came from Washington to change the specifications.

New ones were therefore drawn that did not provide for removing the stumps. It was provided however that no stumps were to be over fifteen inches high and that those in the center of the road were to be rounded and trimmed so as to present no serious obstructions to carriages.

Letting of contracts on this basis was begun in Wayne County in September, and on October third, John Milroy wrote from Terre Haute that contracts had been completed for the entire distance across the state, the average price being \$121.00 a mile, leaving as he said a handsome surplus for future work.

A few weeks later additional instructions came from Washington to have the stumps grubbed out. This cost about \$75.00 a mile and left a series of mounds and holes that made the road impassable. Many complaints were made to those in charge of the work. In a letter written from Washington by Jonathan Knight the following February he said that he fully realized the condition of the road, but did not doubt the intention of Congress to have it graded and bridged.

During the next ten years Congress made an additional appropriation each year for the work in Indiana. The act of 1831 provided for a bridge over White river where a ferry had been operated for several years. The bridge was begun that same year and completed three years later. It was a covered structure built of hewed timbers of yellow poplar on stone piers and abutments and cost \$18,000.00. This bridge was in use for sixty years and when torn down to make way for a more modern structure was still in serviceable condition.

Great excitement was caused in Indianapolis in the spring of 1831 by the appearance of the steamboat "Robert Hanna" that had been brought up White river to haul stone for the bridge. This seemed to be proof positive that the river was navigable. The entire population of nearly eleven hundred

people turned out to see the boat and a salute was fired from a cannon belonging to the local artillery company. However the boat grounded on an island where it stayed for several months and the stone was finally hauled on a flat boat.

Five years later a bridge was authorized over the Wabash. Stone was hauled for this bridge but it was never built, a ferry being used instead until a toll bridge was built several years later by private enterprise.

Hugh McCulloch, a director of the State Bank of Indiana, who made his first visit to Indianapolis in 1833, said that there were then but two bridges in the state, both built by the government on the National road.

By 1834 the road extended clear across the state. A large force of men was at work that year on the grades and embankments in Vigo County. Many of the pioneers made their start in life with money earned by working on the road. They were paid 62½¢ a day, which was higher than the usual rate. It is recorded that among those who shoveled dirt on the road in Clay county when it was under construction in the spring of 1833 was Morgan Ringo who earned in this way the money to buy his first 40 acres and who afterwards became the heaviest tax payer in the county.

In the newspapers of the day mention is frequently made of the enthusiasm caused by the building of the road and of the prosperity that it brought. The farmers supplied many teams and many of the contractors and laborers who came to work on the road became permanent settlers. High grades were thrown across the swamps, substantial bridges were built by engineers who understood the work and who had ample funds at their command, and for the first time a road to the east was made able to withstand the spring freshets that had washed away the weaker embankments of the settlers.

In 1836 while work on the road was still in progress, Congress seriously considered the matter of substituting a rail-

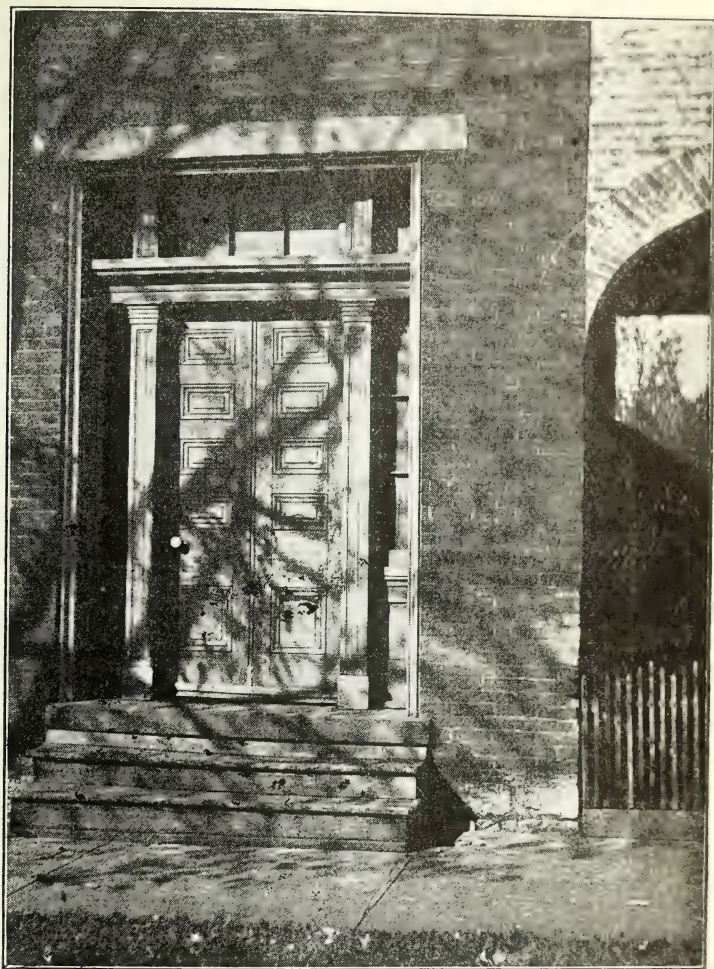
way for the highway west of Columbus, Ohio. The first railway in the United States, built ten years before, was a decided success, others were being built in every direction and it seemed evident that this was the coming means of transportation. After considerable discussion, however, it was decided to complete the road as originally planned, the appropriation of that year providing that the greatest possible continuous portion of the road in Ohio and Indiana should be completed so that the finished part might be surrendered to the states.

During the following year the road was macadamized through Indianapolis making Washington street the first paved street in town. This caused such an awakening of civic pride that the trustees soon afterwards established grades so that sidewalks and gutters could be built by the owners of adjoining property.

The last appropriation for work in Indiana was made in 1838, the total amount spent by the government in the state being \$1,136,000.00.

Heavy immigration through central Indiana had begun before the National road was under way. In 1827 the Indiana Gazette noted that for a week the town had scarcely been free of immigrant wagons and in a later issue of the same year they said that often as many as thirty were camped together for the night. Most of this travel came on the Madison and Brookville roads from the Ohio river.

Practically all of the travel in Indiana before the Government road was in condition to be used was from south to north, along the water courses and the roads and trails from the Ohio, but during the next ten years a constant stream of immigration passed through Indianapolis on the National road, many of the settlers going to the Wabash country, being attracted by the fertility of the land and by the movement, begun in 1827, for a canal to connect the Wabash river with Lake Erie.



ENTRANCE AND ARCHED ALLEYWAY OF AN OLD HOUSE IN
CENTERVILLE

Later on, during the years before the Civil war, a steady line of canvas covered emigrant wagons moved over the road to the far west, many going because of the discoveries of gold in Colorado. Inscribed on the canvas was often seen the destination of the travelers. One wagon that bore the legend "Pike's Peak or Bust" came trailing back a few months later with the laconic word, "Busted" added below the original inscription.

Although when the road was surveyed across Indiana the only town between Centerville, near the eastern boundary of the state, and Terre Haute near the western boundary, was Indianapolis, the capitol in the woods, within the next few years many towns were located that became busy and prosperous with the building of the highway.

In the boom days that followed, lots in Centerville sold rapidly and prices were high. Some of the streets, originally 100 feet wide were narrowed to 60 and even 40 feet, to gain more ground, residences were built flush with the sidewalk and even alleys were arched over to make more room. Several examples of such covered alleys may be seen there today.

East of Indianapolis, both Greenfield and Knightstown were established in 1828, the year following the survey, Knightstown being named in honor of Jonathan Knight the surveyor in charge of the road, and a year later the town of Cumberland was established and named for the road itself. Other settlements followed rapidly and in 1835 the little town of Vandalia, in Wayne County, was abandoned because the highway had passed a few miles to the south. As the highway did not go to Vandalia, Vandalia went to the highway. Some of the buildings were moved down to the big road and Cambridge City was established.

West of Indianapolis, Plainfield, Belleville, Stilesville, Putnamville and Harmony were all established within a few years of the location of the road, and all were prosperous towns dur-

ing the years that it was the only means of transportation between the east and west.

Putnamville was at one time a rival of Greencastle and came very near securing the location of DePauw University, but when later on the builders of the railroad from Terre Haute to Indianapolis decided to swing it north to Greencastle, missing Putnamville, Belleville and Stilesville, the growth of these towns came to an end. They are still picturesque communities, with a charm and serenity lacking in the busier railroad towns.

Brazil, the largest town established in Indiana along the National highway, was not located until 1844 and six years later had only eighty-four inhabitants but its location on the main line of travel finally caused the county seat to be moved there from Bowling Green. The first relay station for changing horses on the stage line east of Terre Haute was at the present site of Brazil and for several years was the only building there.

Among the first business ventures along the road were blacksmith and wagon shops that soon were made busy by the constantly increasing traffic. These together with a tavern, and a general store in which the postoffice was located, made the beginning of many a prosperous town. From the general stores went peddlers' wagons, that carried hardware, drugs, dry goods and other staple articles to the more remote settlements.

The road became a busy thoroughfare. Over its long stretches passed a procession of stage and mail coaches, express carriers, emigrants and wagoners with heavy loads of freight. Wagon house yards were located along the line, where the tired horses rested over night beside their great loads, and taverns, famous in their day, were built at convenient points for the stages, that were constantly arriving and departing.

In 1832, before the road was in condition for fast travel,

the stage line of P. Beers was advertised to make the trip from Indianapolis to Dayton in two and a half days. This included stopping each night at a tavern. In later years it became the custom for many of the stages to drive straight ahead, day and night, until they reached their destination. In good weather they would average about 150 miles a day but in bad weather the time was much slower.



THE INN AT CAMBRIDGE CITY

Passenger and mail coaches were operated much like the railways of today, the rival lines fighting each other at times with great bitterness and competing in speed, accommodations and rates of tariff. However, the freight traffic was more important than the passenger business, as it is on the railroads today. Great wagons hauled the produce of the middle west over the mountains to the Potomac and brought back the products of mill and factory. This freight traffic created a race of wagoners who were strong and daring and many stories were told of their prowess.

The favorite wagons for hauling freight were of the Cones-

toga type, named for the valley in Pennsylvania where they were first built. These wagons had long deep beds, sloping upward at each end, to prevent the contents from shifting when going up and down the hills. The underbody was usually painted blue while the upper woodwork was bright red. The top was covered with canvas drawn over wooden bows. The wagons had wheels of unusual strength, most of them with broad treads, as tolls for broad wheels were less than for the narrow ones that tended to cut up the road bed. They made a brave showing and the wagoners were very proud of them. Some had bells hung on an arch over the hames of the harness that kept up a constant chime.

The most important official use of the National highway was as a means for transporting the United States mail and on this road was an important trunk system of mail coach lines. The Great Eastern and Great Western mails ran between St. Louis and Washington and many lesser mail lines connected with the Cumberland road at different points along the way, the principal ones being those from Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. Even compared with the fast mail trains of today the express mails of 80 years ago made excellent time.

In 1837 the schedule of the postoffice for the Great Western mail from Washington to Indianapolis, was 65½ hours and to St. Louis 94 hours. The ordinary mail coaches, which also carried passengers, made much slower time, it taking six days and twenty hours to reach Washington from Indianapolis.

The schedule of mails printed in the Indiana Journal in 1833 showed an eastern mail by Centerville three times a week and a mail to Terre Haute twice a week. The Government requirements of 1842 for carrying the mails east and west from Indianapolis called for coaches drawn by four horses to be run six days a week. The approach of the mail coach was announced by the blowing of a bugle to notify the postmaster to be ready for a quick change of mails. In a few minutes it

would be off again at full speed. The drivers of the fast mails were selected for their skill and daring and they took great pride in maintaining their schedules. When news of unusual importance was being carried, such as a president's message, extra relays of horses were provided along the route and every effort was made to establish a new speed record. At such times it was the part of wisdom for a traveler who had any regard for his personal comfort to wait for a slower coach.

The charm of the road in those picturesque days has appealed to many Indiana authors. In his narrative in verse, "A Child World", whose scenes are laid in an old homestead facing the highway, James Whitcomb Riley has called it a road that "blossoms with romance".

"Historic Indiana", by Julia Henderson Levering, contains a delightful account of a trip over the road to the east by stage when such a journey was an event to be planned by the traveler months in advance, "A new dozen of shirts, all of finest linen, must be hand stitched for the journey. His best blue broadcloth clothes and flowered waistcoat must be brushed, his gold fob polished, and the beaver hat remodeled and ironed." While his wife "would content herself with a made-over outfit, so that she might purchase 'brand new' peau de soie and French merino at the centers of fashion."

Benjamin S. Parker lived as a boy in Eastern Indiana near the great thoroughfare. In his recollections of those days in the eighteen-forties he says "a flood-tide of emigration poured along the great highway from June to November, such as the world seldom saw upon a single line before the modern railroad era.

"These companies of wagons were those of 'the movers' as we termed the families that were traveling from the older States to the new ones, to open farms and make homes there. Many families occupied two or more of the big road-wagons then in use, with their household goods, and their implements,

while extra horses, colts, cattle, sheep, and sometimes hogs, were led or driven behind.

"But everybody did not travel in that way. Single families, occupying only a single one or two horse wagon or a cart, frequently passed along, seeming as confident and hopeful as the others, while even the resolute family, the members of which carried their worldly possessions upon their backs or pushed them forward in hand-wagons, was not an unfamiliar spectacle.

"With the tinkling of the bells, the rumbling of the wheels, the noise of the animals, and the chatter of the people, as they went forever forward, the little boy who had gone down to the road from his lonesome home in the woods was naturally captivated and carried away into the great, active world that he had not before dreamed of.

"But the greatest wonder and delight of all was the stage-coach, radiant in new paint, drawn by its four matched horses in their showy harness, and filled inside and on top with well-dressed people, representatives of the commercial and professional life of the land.

"I think yet that there has never been a more graceful or handsome turnout than one of those fine old stage-coaches drawn by a splendid team of matched horses, and driven by such drivers as used to handle the ribbons between Richmond and Indianapolis. We could hear the driver playing his bugle as he approached the little town that lay just beyond us, and it all seemed too grand and fine to be other than a dream."

Every traveler was welcomed with generous hospitality by the settlers of those days but travel became so heavy that in self-defense some of those who lived along the highway were compelled to hang out tavern signs to indicate that some charges would be made. The usual rates were twenty-five cents for a bed or meal and many comfortable fortunes were made at these rates. The legislature of Indiana seemed to feel

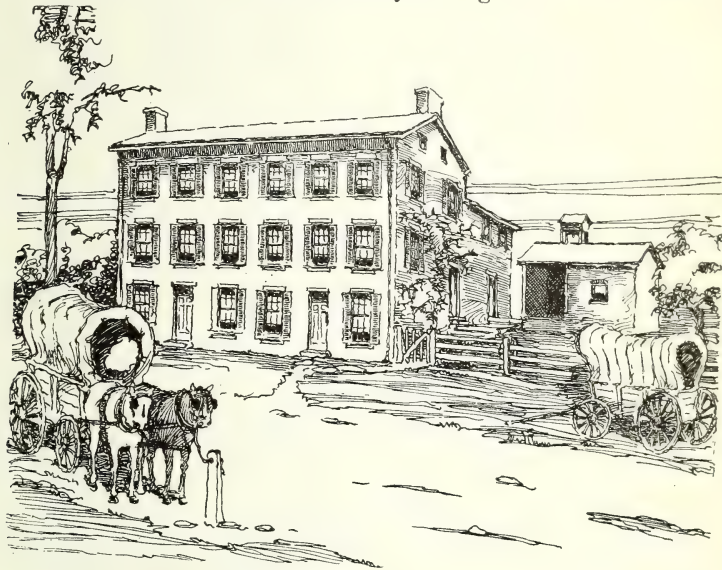
that this business needed some regulations and in 1832 passed an act providing that before a tavern keeper should be permitted to retail liquor he should have at least one spare room with two beds and bedding, good stabling for at least four horses and should keep posted in his public room the rates for food, lodging, stabling and liquor.

The first taverns of the west were built mostly of logs, often of but one or two rooms where the guests were glad to sleep together upon the floor, but better taverns arose beside the western roads even before the Cumberland road was under way. In Zanesville, Ohio, Robert Taylor built in 1807 a tavern from which he hung out the "Sign of the Orange Tree", where in 1810, when Zanesville was the temporary capitol of Ohio, the legislature made its headquarters.

The first tavern in Columbus, Ohio, was built in 1813 and bore the sign of "The Lion & the Eagle". The Neil House at Columbus, opened sometime in the twenties, was the headquarters of the Neil-Moore & Company line of stages and was the best known tavern in Ohio in the old coaching days.

Billy Werden's tavern in Springfield was the leading hostelry in western Ohio. At this point the stages to Cincinnati left the Cumberland road. At Richmond, Indiana, were the Starr tavern, Gilbert's tavern, Bayles' Sign of the Green Tree and Sloane's brick stage house, all of which shared in the business of the road. There was also at the corner of Main and Franklin "the Friends' Boarding House", known afterwards as Nixon's, and later on as the Huntington House. Here in 1842 Henry Clay, with the gallantry of a Kentucky gentleman and the strategy of an old political campaigner, kissed a number of Quaker ladies who had come to greet the distinguished visitor. This caused considerable comment, and the echoes of those kisses were heard in the next presidential campaign. At Centerville travelers found the White Hall Tavern and the Mansion House, a great center in the stage coach days, and at

Cambridge City was the United States hotel and the Inn, a long two-story frame structure where horses were changed by the stages running between Indianapolis and Dayton. This building was torn down several years ago.



Drawing by Wilbur B. Shook

THE HUDDLESTON HOUSE

Just west of Cambridge City still stands the Huddleston house, built in the early forties, a great three-story brick building where hundreds of emigrant wagons stopped on their way to the west. The wagon yard is still there and the huge brick oven where travelers were at liberty to do their baking. One morning, so the story goes, Mr. Huddleston found that a party of emigrants had departed at daybreak, forgetting their bread that had been put in the oven the night before. Hastily saddling a horse he followed them with the bread only to discover that their hurried departure had been caused by the fact that they had taken his best set of harness.

Farther west on the way to Indianapolis travelers would come to Dillon's Tavern and Stage Office at Knightstown, and at Greenfield they would find Gooding Hall and a rival tavern kept by the postmaster, William Sebastian. At Cumberland was a tavern known as Cumberland Hall.

In Indianapolis was Washington Hall, a frame tavern built about 1826 by James Blake and Samuel Henderson, on the south side of Washington street. This became a famous hostelry. In 1833 Mr. Henderson announced that additions making it the largest hotel in the state had been completed, including several large and commodious porches that afforded pleasant promenades and handsome views of the town. Three years later it was replaced by a brick structure bearing the same name that was for years the headquarters of the Whig Party in Indiana. For fifteen years it was in charge of Edmund Browning, whose able management added to its fame. Among his successors as landlord of this fine old tavern was General W. J. Elliott, whose son, Byron K. Elliott, afterwards became a Judge of the Supreme Court and the author of several well known legal text books.

Across the street from Washington Hall was the Mansion House, afterwards known as the Union Hotel, a two-story brick building kept by Basil Brown, a well known landlord of the time. This was Democratic headquarters until the building of the Palmer House, on the corner of Illinois street in 1841. At the corner of New Jersey street John Little opened a frame tavern in the summer of 1834. This was known for years as the "Sun Tavern" from a picture of the rising sun that was painted in brilliant colors on the swinging sign over the door. It was a favorite inn with the many travelers who came on horseback along the National road.

At Mt. Jackson, a few miles west of Indianapolis, was the home of Nathaniel Bolton, one of the founders of the first newspaper at the Capitol, and his gifted wife, Sara T. Bolton.

Their large rambling house, built partly of logs and partly of frame, was a center of hospitality, famous throughout the middle west. On account of financial troubles, caused by paying debts of friends for whom he had endorsed, Mr. Bolton found it necessary to turn his home into a tavern, which he conducted for nine years, when the farm was bought by the state as the site for the Central Insane Hospital. Mrs. Bolton has said that during these busy years she often acted as house-keeper, dairy maid and cook.

A few miles further west of Indianapolis was the Hartsock tavern at Bridgeport and the Ohio House at Plainfield. Just west of Mill Creek in Putnam County were the twin taverns known as the Tecumseh and Washington Hall that were well known in their day, and farther on in Putnamville was the Eagle House.

During the busy years of the road there were nine taverns along the road in Clay County alone. One of the best, known as Kennedy's, was at the crossing of the state road to Rockville and Bowling Green, while on the hill west of where Brazil now stands was Cunningham's Tavern, which later on was enlarged and a race course added where Terre Haute sportsmen trained their horses. Across the road from Cunningham's was the Usher homestead built in 1838 and thought by many to be the finest dwelling in that part of Indiana.

The first tavern in Terre Haute was the Eagle and Lion. When the highway reached the town, which then had about 800 inhabitants, the principal hotel was the Early House.

All along the road were wagon houses that offered their hospitality to the hundreds engaged in the freight traffic. Most of these wagon houses were situated at the edge of the larger towns where the prices were more reasonable than at the inns near the center of business. These wagon houses were surrounded by commodious yards for the horses. In all of the taverns and wagon houses were great fireplaces, in which logs were burned, whose fires lighted up the rooms during the

winter evenings and before which drivers and passengers were glad to spread their blankets and sleep through the night when other accommodations could not be had.

The taverns were the centers of the social life of the day. Many a dance was held on their puncheon floors to music played by the old time fiddlers. Judges, riding the circuits, together with the members of the bar, made them their headquarters and within their walls were planned many of the strategies of those heated campaigns that swept the old Indian fighter, William Henry Harrison, into office to the tune of "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too", and that afterwards resulted in decisive victories for the Democrats, under the leadership of such men as James Whitcomb and Robert Dale Owen, and the carrying of the next presidential election by James K. Polk.

During these years both Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren traveled across Indiana along the National Road making speeches at the important towns. Clay had always been a champion of the road, but Van Buren had opposed internal improvements by the Federal Government and when his coach tipped over in the worst mud hole at Plainfield many thought that this supposed "accident" had been arranged to give him an object lesson on the importance of keeping the highway in repair.

After the Government stopped work on the road in Indiana it was turned over to the state in 1848. But the state would have none of it. The canals and railroad that it had built in a gigantic and ill considered scheme of internal improvements had resulted in financial disaster, and the state had begun to turn them over to such private companies as would agree to complete them and keep them in operation.

And so control of the National road through Hancock, Marion, Hendricks and Putman Counties was granted in 1849 to the Central Plank Road Company which covered the road with oak planks and put up a series of toll gates. In Indian-

apolis a toll gate was built at the bridge and another just east of town. This was considered by the citizens as taking an unfair advantage of the franchise and finally the eastern gate was removed, after the town council had agreed that the company should not be required to keep Washington street in repair. After a time the planks began to decay and the road was graveled. When an excavation was made for a sewer in Irvington not many years ago, some of the old planks were discovered in a good state of preservation.

An English traveler, Mr. J. Richard Beste, who visited "the interior of America" in 1851, noted in his book, "The Wabash", that tolls were not required to be paid on the Central Plank Road by those "going to or returning from militia mustering, from any religious meeting on the Sabbath, from any state, town or county election, or from any funeral procession."

Through Wayne County the road was taken over by the Wayne County Turnpike Company and was operated by it as a toll road for over forty years when it was finally purchased by the townships through which it passed and made a free gravel road, and in Henry county the road was operated for many years by a private company.

When the era of railroad building began, among the first projects were those for paralleling the National road in order to secure some of its great traffic. The Terre Haute & Indianapolis Railroad, the second railroad completed to Indianapolis, organized by Chauncey Rose of Terre Haute, was begun in 1851, construction work being carried on from both ends of the line. A year later the first train was run over the road. During the time of construction the gap in the line was connected by stage. Some idea of the amount of travel at that time may be had from the annual report for 1852, published just before the road was completed, in which Mr. Rose reported that, at the urgent request of the people, a box car for passengers had been attached to each iron train, bringing in

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Early Indianapolis

By

MRS. LAURA FLETCHER HODGES.

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FOREWORD

On November 15, 1918, the Indianapolis Women's Club devoted its program to Indianapolis, the exercises being grouped under the title: "The Indianapolis Symphony." In this harmonious enterprise, the first paper, entitled "Allegro," was the one following, which is now rechristened, "Early Indianapolis." The appropriateness of both titles, in their diverse connections, will be apparent to the reader.

Through quotations from the diary of her grandmother, Mrs. Calvin Fletcher, Mrs. Hodges presents a peculiarly intimate view of early life in Indianapolis, which occasioned an appeal for her consent to its publication in this form.

J. P. DUNN, *Secy.*

Early Indianapolis

A verse from Riley's "Tale of the Airly Days" has pervaded my mind since this topic was assigned me, and, with an insistence which would not be denied has suggested the manner in which I should treat the opening number of the Indianapolis Symphony.

My Allegro is not necessarily a sprightly movement, with gay and merry touches, although these qualities are not lacking; but it is rather the beginning of the composition as well as a harmony of mingled sounds, a concert of voices—the voices of the past.

And so my heart warms towards Riley and his verse when he begs for "plane facts, plane words of the good old fashioned ways—

Don't tech 'em up like the poets does
Tel theyr all too fine for use.
Tell me a tale of the timber lands
Of the old time pioneers. * * *
Tell of the old log house—about
The loft and the puncheon flore—
The old fi-er-place, with the crane swung out,
And the latch string through the door."

In thinking of the earliest days one pictures the legislature and Jonathan Jennings, first governor of Indiana, consulting with the Commissioners appointed "to locate and lay out a permanent capital for the State." It is a matter of history that they decided on the site at the point where Fall Creek flows

into White River, June 7, 1820. Indianapolis consequently has served as the capital of the commonwealth nearly one hundred years.

Corydon, the pleasant village of story and pageant, had that distinction for a brief time immediately after the state was admitted into the Union, affixing by her admission, the nineteenth star to the flag.

Reviewing history we find there were many and far distant capitals. When France through her explorers possessed a vast domain of which this territory was a part, Paris was the capital. By the treaty of Paris, at the close of the Seven Years War, it shifted to London. Richmond, Virginia followed, after the Revolution, when Clark took possession of the country west of the Ohio river. The capital was nearer when Virginia's rule ceased in 1790 on the formation of the Northwest Territory, for Marietta, Ohio, was made the seat of government. Ten years later Vincennes had this distinction when Indiana Territory was established. Vincennes forms, therefore, the last link in the chain of capitals joining Paris in France, many leagues away, to Indiana Territory through the frontier French town on the Wabash.

Through these centuries of changing government Indiana can claim a past as interesting as it is remote, reaching as it does to the days when Louis the Great, fourteenth of that name, sat on the throne of France.

But kings and thrones have little to do with the "Capital in the Wilderness," our present concern, except perhaps to serve as a background, a dim and faded tapestry hung on the walls of memory bringing out by contrast the virility, the sturdiness, and the self dependence of the pioneers.

Mention has been made of the Commissioners earlier in this paper—let us join them as they sit about the cherry table (still in existence) in John McCormick's cabin considering

the business the Governor has entrusted to them; weighing the merits of the three sites proposed for the capital; the Bluffs, twenty miles to the south known as Whetzell's Settlement, the home of the Indian fighter and trace maker; Conner's Prairie to the north, a trading post surrounded by Indian huts, and the Fall Creek Settlement where McCormick's cabin stood.

The determining factors in the choice were the river, presumably navigable, its banks at this point making a good boat landing, the level surface of the adjacent land and last but by no means least, the central location of the Fall Creek Settlement.

After the Commissioners had made a favorable report to the Legislature, Congress granted the request for land by a donation of four sections for "the Capital in the Wilderness," as Judge Daniel Waite Howe so aptly calls it.

The donation was sixty miles from the nearest settlement and within a few miles of the boundary which divided the "New Purchase" from the land still claimed by the Indians.

Speaking of conditions which existed then a writer says, "There was no town, no people except in the lonely cabins miles apart; not a road leading anywhere, no farm lands under cultivation, no supplies except those bought by pack horses on the trails made originally by the Indians."

Under such circumstances a visit from the neighbor in the remote clearing or the arrival of the traveller with news of the world was remembered with delight. The itinerant preacher of any denomination was always a welcome guest; he played no small part in the development of Indiana from the crude material of a hundred years ago. He did not hold himself aloof from the social and economic duties of the period, but helped in log rollings, house raisings and corn huskings while he kept up his preaching.

Some of these men were unlearned, some even illiterate, but their congregations were not scholarly and no one now can question the wisdom of utilizing even such as they in the moral and religious work of the times. Should the field have been left uncultivated until enough college-bred preachers could be sent to look after it?

Our forefathers were absorbed in making and protecting their rude homes and gathering their meager crops—in clearing their recently purchased acres—they therefore had little time for intellectual pursuits.

In his defense of dialect Riley says with truth, "Many of the heroic ancestry of our best people grew unquestionably dialect of caste—not alone in speech but in every mental trait and personal address. It is a grievous fact for us to confront but many of them wore apparel of the commonest, talked loudly and doubtless said 'this away and that away, What y' doin' of and whur you goin' at'!"

But let us return to the settlement for which we have attempted by this digression to create atmosphere.

The Legislature included in the act ratifying the selection of the site provision for the election of three commissioners to lay out the capital and an agent to have charge of the sale of lots.

Judge Jeremiah Sullivan states that on his motion, seconded by Mr. Samuel Merrill, the town was named Indianapolis, a name which created some amusement when first proposed.

Of the commissioners elected, Christopher Harrison was the only one to appear at the place on the date fixed upon. Without delay he carried on alone the survey and the sale of lots, a proceeding very properly legalized by an act of the Legislature in November, 1821. Judge Harrison was one of the most interesting characters who ever reached Indiana.

He came from Maryland, was possessed of some wealth, had a fine education and a taste for art. He had loved Elizabeth Patterson, who married Jerome Bonaparte; failing to win her he came to Indiana where he lived a hermit on the bluffs of the Ohio river near Hanover. Seeking political honors he ran for governor against Jennings, but was badly defeated; notwithstanding this defeat he was held in high esteem by the successful candidate, as well as by the Legislature.

Harrison selected Alexander Ralston and Elias Pym Fordham as surveyors of the new capital, and Benjamin I. Blythe as clerk to the commissioners. Ralston was a Scotchman, a man of ability who had been entrusted by Lord Roslin with important engineering work before coming to this country. He had assisted Major L'Enfant, companion of La Fayette, in surveying Washington, the national capital. It is a well known fact that the design employed by L'Enfant influenced Ralston in his survey of Indianapolis, the scheme involving as it does a circle in the center with radiating avenues and streets intersecting at right angles. Completing the survey Ralston left the settlement but returned in 1822 for permanent residence. He built a little brick house on West Maryland street near Capitol avenue, remarkable at the time for the great number of windows and doors it contained; here he lived until his death in 1827; he was buried at Green Lawn Cemetery. It was said that he was involved in Aaron Burr's conspiracy, but it is probable that he was only employed to survey the lands Burr had purchased. Whatever the association Ralston was held in high esteem by his fellow townsmen; the children loved him and the birds came to his door to be fed.

Various memorials to his memory have been suggested, but as yet nothing has been done by this community.

There were a few, however, who did not forget him and

his services to the city. Ralston's body had rested in Green Lawn Cemetery half a century when it was carried to Crown Hill escorted by half a dozen old citizens and laid in the teachers' lot by the side of John B. Dillon, Indiana's distinguished historian.

Fordham, the second surveyor, well educated and of a discerning mind, was a member of an ancient family in the east of England. He joined the celebrated Illinois colony at English Prairie, in 1817. He was a pupil of George Stephenson, inventor of the locomotive steam engine.

Had I been more familiar with the history of my native city I would have looked with greater interest, when I visited Newcastle-on-Tyne, on Stephenson's engine, the Rocket, standing silent among its noisy successors in the railway station.

The association of the men concerned with the beginning of Indianapolis, with those of the far away world will bear repeating—Harrison with the beautiful Miss Patterson and Jerome Bonaparte; Ralston with Lord Roslin, Aaron Burr, L'Enfant, La Fayette, and Fordham with George Stephenson.

The survey completed, with certain reservations for public purposes, a state house, a state university, a court house, etc., the town lots heavily timbered, staked off at streets running through the woods, were offered for sale.

Now we witness the beginning of the town, the news having gone abroad that the capital was located immigrants began to arrive from Ohio, Kentucky, the Carolinas, from Pennsylvania, New England and Virginia. To follow "the course of empire" was a difficult and dangerous undertaking, since the roads were hardly more than trails worn by man and beast, and Indians lurked in the forest resentful of the change taking place in their old hunting ground. White river, an uncertain

mode of travel, furnished the only other means of approach to the new capital.

The sale of lots began in October, 1821; the purchasers in most cases selecting those along the river and on Washington street, for many years known as Main street. Isaac Wilson built the first frame house of the new town on what is now State House Square.

We have come to that stage of the town's development where I find myself turning to the diary of one of its pioneer mothers for some unembellished pictures of the early days. She was a participant in as well as a witness of the simple life of the town, a life at times "so uneventful that the utter absence of anything in it to remark upon became in itself remarkable."

The diary begins "October the first, 1821. We arrived at Indianapolis and procured a house or rough cabin, sixteen feet square, into which I entered with alacrity after enduring the fatigues of our journey from Ohio which lasted thirteen days. October the eighth. The sale of lots commenced near our house; a great concourse of people were present. Friday, November 10. I was spinning at Mrs. Nowlands. Saturday, I was baking pumpkin pies. Sunday I attended prayer meeting at Mr. Stephen's. Monday, November 19; this day I was shopping. I only bought a pound of cotton from which I spun some candlewick. Mrs. Nowland (a near neighbor) was making a bonnet; she came to me to know whether I would make it. I did not undertake it I but I gave her all the instruction I could." Mrs. Nowland hardly needs an introduction to those familiar with the early settlers. Her husband, Matthias, travelled up White river with the Commissioners on their tour of inspection, and being favorably impressed with the site they selected he returned to Kentucky for his family. Mr. Nowland built his home south of Washington street near what is now California street.

His grandson, Col. John W. Ray, describes it as a log cabin in the woods with a chimney of sticks and mud, with fireplace so wide and doorway so broad that once a week during the winter a horse dragged in a big back log for the fire. It was here that Ralston lived while surveying the capital. It was one of the traditions in Col. Ray's family that his mother, Sarah Anne Nowland, then a girl of thirteen years, carried the chain for the surveyors laying out the streets because men and boys were so busy clearing out the woods they could not be obtained to help the surveyors.

WHO PREACHED THE FIRST SERMON AND WHERE WAS IT DELIVERED?

The discussion has never waxed as warm as that concerning the first settler, Pogue or McCormick, but Rev. Rezin Hammond, whose congregation sat on logs rolled together by the surveying party near the Circle, claims first place; there are those, however, who make the same claim for William Cravens, grandfather of Mrs. Ann Woodburn and Mrs. Jane Patterson.

His sermon was delivered on a warm summer day; Mr. Cravens, who weighed two hundred and fifty pounds, consequently suffered from the excessive heat. Spying a young girl in the congregation fanning herself with a turkey's wing, and looking to it for relief from his discomfort, the preacher paused in the midst of his sermon; leaning from his improvised pulpit he beckoned to the girl, saying "Come here, darter, and fan your grandpap while he preaches."

To return to the diary, "I was very much engaged in trying out my tallow; next day I dipped candles and washed. Tuesday, December 25, 1821 (first Christmas day in the settlement), My husband went to the river and found at Mc-

George's a large collection of men, principally the candidates for the new county which is said to be just laid off. McG had the only barrel of cider in town, which I suppose to have cost about \$7.00. In the liberality of the candidates the barrel was unheaded and all promiscuously drank; and it being froze the dog irons were put in red hot * * * My husband found a great degree of accommodation and courtesy among all classes. The candidates leading the concourse from one place to another until sundown.

"Mrs. Bradley (wife of Henry, the carpenter) spent the day with me and Mrs. Paxton dined with us, then we both went home with Mrs. Paxton, took tea and sat awhile—went home and read a chapter in my Bible." Certainly this was a quiet celebration of Christmas day when compared with that of the men at McGeorge's!

"December 26th. Went to singing school and suffered very much with the cold. Word has come that Mr. Blake has arrived from Corydon; my husband has gone to see him. When I write a few more lines I will go myself, although I feel much fatigued; it has been so long a time since I have heard the fiddle played that I think it would sound very melodious."

Although I have no recollection of Mr. Blake I feel that I knew him because he was the warm friend of other generations of my family. I am for that reason quoting somewhat at length from Berry Sulgrove's tribute to him. "Mr. Blake's history for fifty years was the history of Indianapolis and no citizen has ever been more closely identified with the rise and progress of the city than he. When Kossuth, the distinguished Hungarian, visited Indianapolis, when the soldiers returned from the Mexican war, and when they came home from the South, Mr. Blake was the marshal of the day; no public pageant seemed complete without him. His ambition to become a useful citizen and a public benefactor outweighed all other considerations."

The Blake homestead stood at the northwest corner of North and Tennessee streets (the latter now Capitol avenue), and was a delightful old place with its sheltered brick-paved porch, its Dutch gable and the riot of vines over all.

When I visited the homestead Mrs. Blake met me on the porch and taking me by the hand lead me into the quaint old parlor to see her cherished possession, the bridal gift of her husband, the antiquated piano, now stained and darkened with age. It had been brought over the mountains from Baltimore in 1831 and was the first instrument of its kind in the new settlement. The pleasure her playing gave was long remembered by Mrs. Blake's friends. Perhaps "Uncle Jimmie," as he was affectionately called, took his fiddle from its box and joined in the music—I wish I might have heard the duets they played, this Hoosier Darby and Joan!

Mrs. Blake and her playing at the old piano inspired Dan Paine to write his poem "Da Capo," one of the best of our local productions. To revive your memory of it I quote a stanza or two:

"She sat at the old piano
Her fingers thin and pale
Ran over the yellow key-board
The chords of a minor scale.

Her hands were withered and shrunken,
Her form with age was bent;
They seemed twin spirits in look and tone;
Herself and the instrument.

For the instrument quaint and olden
With its single tremulous strings,
Was little more than a spirit,
And its tone seemed a whirr of wings."



The diary—"January the first, 1822. My husband and I have been invited to attend a party at John Wyant's today at 3 o'clock. I am unable to tell the aggregate of the happiness we shall enjoy.

"Mr. Hogden came for us with a carriage and carried us to Mr. Wyant's house at the river. Mr. Russell played a few tunes on the fiddle and we danced a few reels; returned home about 12 o'clock not much fatigued. 20 couples were present."

Going to a party in a carriage suggests a degree of luxury not yet attained by the towns people we would suppose; we find our conjecture is correct for Mrs. Martin, daughter of George Smith, the first publisher, and mother of Mrs. Gordon Tanner, Sr., also went to the ball in Hogden's carriage which she describes as "a great lumbering thing similar to the mud wagons used in stage coach days, when an ordinary stage could not navigate the flooded roads."

An incident occurred at this first dance and New Year's ball in the settlement one historian relates "which indicates a stronger matrimonial exclusiveness among some of the pioneers than prevails at the present day."

Mr. Wyant's tavern was a double cabin; while the landlord was in t'other house, as the second cabin was called, the guests had been welcomed in the room to the right of the porch which divided the tavern. It was time for the ball to commence and the guests grew impatient at the delay. One polished gentleman from Kentucky, remembering his early training beyond the Ohio river, invited his hostess to open the ball with him. Mrs. Wyant accepted his invitation with eagerness and the couple was moving gracefully across the dancing floor when the lady's husband returned from t'other house. His manner at once indicated disapproval of the scene which met his gaze. Going to the end of the room where Col. Russell sat with his fiddle poised on his shoulder he ordered him



to cease playing ; then turning to the surprised company he said with sternness, "As far as I and my wife are concerned we are able to do our own dancing ; it would look better for every man to follow our example and dance with his own wife ; those of you who are so unfortunate as to have none can dance with the gals."

Col. Russell, the fiddler for the joyous occasion, was the first merchant of the settlement. At his store trade was carried on on a basis of barter making it possible to do business with a small amount of ready money. Here the needs of the town were supplied from a stock consisting of dry goods, queensware, hardware and groceries. Cash was given for hides and furs of every description. The fur trade did not fall off for many years, and it is interesting to note, in this connection, that Indianapolis became the center of it for a large part of the state and for some distance beyond its borders.

Col. Russell arrived from Kentucky in May, 1821, by the first keel boat to reach this point on White River. He was in turn county sheriff, militia officer and post master. Moreover, he was a fiddler of note and consequently in demand for all the early entertainments.

On January 22, 1822, the writer of the diary attended the wedding of Miss Patsy Chinn and Mr. Uriah Gates, probably the second wedding in the place.

As the two rooms of the cabin in which the ceremony was to take place were filled with guests she tells us the bride was compelled to make her toilet in the smoke house ; from this improvised dressing room the bridegroom escorted her to the waiting company in the cabin. After the ceremony a wedding dinner was served, the table groaning under a feast the billionaire of today would have difficulty in duplicating. The piece de resistance was a fine saddle of venison placed in the

middle of the table; two large fat wild turkeys were at either end, still steaming hot from the clay oven in which they had been roasted; between the venison and the turkeys were pumpkin, chicken and various other pies.

From the side table or puncheon, the bride's mother assisted by the old ladies, was serving coffee ladled from a large sugar kettle which was hanging from the crane in the open fireplace. Maple sugar was used for sweetening and rich cream was plentiful.

In celebration of the wedding dancing continued for two days.

The infare or housewarming given by the newly married couple was no doubt a part of this revelry, for Edward Eggleston in "Roxy" says, "there could be no wedding in a Hoosier village without an infare on the following day.

In those days the faring into the house of the bridegrooms' parents was observed with great rejoicing."

For several days following the festivities attending Miss Chinn's wedding we find no record in the diary. The entry which follows makes clear the reason. "My husband and I came home after daylight the second day, slept until afternoon and then went back and put in another night. I have been asked to a quilting party but have declined since I do not think it proper to go when I am so weary."

Visiting one's neighbors was the most frequent social pleasure, spending the day or going to dinner when the guest arrived in season to assist in the preparation of the meal and had no pressing engagement to call her away before she had helped wash the dishes and put the room to rights. The children were invariably included in these invitations for the mother of a family was nurse as well as cook, house maid and seamstress. A few days after Miss Chinn's wedding our lady of the diary spends the day with Mrs. Hervey Bates, pre-

sumably to talk over the bride's outfit, the wedding dinner and the furnishings of the cabin into which she had fared.

Mr. and Mrs. Bates came to the new settlement, February 22, 1822. On the day of their arrival Mr. Bates as first sheriff of Marion County, appointed by Governor Jennings, issued a proclamation for the first election ever held in the New Purchase.

The office of sheriff was the only political office Mr. Bates ever filled although his friends frequently besought him to accept various public offices, he devoted himself to mercantile pursuits; all the important enterprises of the town were aided by his energy and ability. Among these undertakings the Bates House (northwest corner of Washington and Illinois streets), built in 1852, had more than local fame; it was known as one of the most complete and elegant hostelrys in the West.

Housing as it did for many years, the distinguished men who came to the city it no doubt considered Lincoln, the first president elect to visit Indianapolis, its most distinguished guest, and his speech from the Washington street balcony the greatest event in its history.

Much excitement, it is recorded, preceded and attended the first election for which Sheriff Bates issued the proclamation.

There were at this time no political parties, no conventions, no caucuses, and the occasion resolved itself into a free fight for all comers. The combatants, it has been reported, were ranged under the titles of Whitewater and Kentucky. The emigration from these two sections was simultaneous and each wished to control the result. It was a state rather than a local contest; the interest centered in the office of clerk, considered the most important in the county.

James M. Ray, Whitewater's successful candidate, came to Indianapolis in the fall of '21.



A friend's estimate places him "among the foremost men here, quiet, unobtrusive, vigilant, never idle, his word as good as another man's oath."

Kentucky's candidate, Morris Morris, was also a pioneer of '21. He had the great advantage of a thorough English education, unusual in the settlement. He possessed a gentleness combined with decision, which is indeed a rare combination. It is a singular coincidence that Morris Morris and his son, Thomas A. Morris, served as commissioners for both State Houses. The father for the structure of 1835, modeled after the Parthenon, where the body of Lincoln laid in state on a day never to be forgotten by those of us who looked upon his face.

The election was held on the first day of April, 1822. The close of the day must have brought relief to the writer of the diary, for she says, "I spent the time very unsatisfactorily; there were so many candidates coming in and out I could neither read, write or do anything else."

"Friday, April 12, 1822.—Spent the afternoon at Mr. Buckner's when I got the sight of a young lady from Kentucky; at a distance she looked very flashy and carried a very high head. I did not have the pleasure of meeting her; perhaps if I had I would have found the lady as empty as myself."

"April 13.—Mr. Levington and some other men have been 10 miles up the river on the public lands cutting saw logs for several weeks. They made a contract with Daniel Yandes to deliver 2,000 logs at 1 dollar per piece, and since the rain the saw logs are coming down the river."

This transaction suggests carrying coals to Newcastle for the town site was full of fine timber; but it was probably easier to float the logs down the river than to get them to the mill over land.

In the preceding fall the State Agent had offered the timber in the street to anyone who would cut it. Lismund Basye, justice of the peace, was tempted by the offer and undertook the clearing of Washington street; much timber was cut and the only thoroughfare in the settlement blocked with it.

Thereupon all the townspeople turned out and cleared a roadway by huge bonfires. Apropos of this blockade of traffic Mr. Blake perpetuated his celebrated joke: "The early settlers spent their evenings one winter cutting and rolling logs in Washington street. They employed two or three hundred negroes to cut the logs in two and keep the heaps burning." A diagram must accompany this joke and explain it. The word "nigger" means to the backwoodsman a small log placed when blazing, across large logs to fire them; by tending the fire so made, large logs are divided more quickly than by an ax—consequently "a nigger in a wood-pile" means something which destroys it and not, as I had supposed, our African brother.

Daniel Yandes, for whom the logs were cut up the river, was called the pioneer mill builder; he built a saw and grist mill, a tannery and in 1833 with Samuel Merrill, established the first cotton spinning factory in this region.

He brought \$4,000 with him when he came to the settlement in the spring of '21, which constituted him for many years the largest capitalist in the place. He was first treasurer of Marion County. Samuel Merrill's part in the pageant of the State Centennial is still fresh in our minds; he was the first state treasurer and served in both capitals, coming from Corydon to Indianapolis in 1824, when William Hendricks was Governor.

Mr. Merrill was one of our foremost pioneers, a man of high attainments and ideals.

Nicholas McCarty, friend and neighbor of Daniel Yandes, reached the settlement in 1823. Besides his mercantile business he took large contracts for Indian supplies; he was familiar with the dialects of the tribes on the Miami Reservation; he became interested in silk growing and the manufacture of hemp.

He was an unostentatious man of great personal popularity.

The diary of April, 1822: "Sunday, 21st—Walked down to the river where I saw many people crossing the ferry. Madam Wick, Mrs. Carter and I had the pleasure of riding up the river to the mouth of Fall Creek and back again to the ferry in the flat."

Flat boats loaded with provisions for the Southern market came down the river from a point one hundred and thirty miles above Indianapolis, when the water was high, but at this day navigation of the river has become a mere jest.

We smile when we read the following from resolutions adopted by a citizens' committee at the time of the arrival of the steamboat Gen. Hanna from Cincinnati, in 1831:

"The arrival of the Gen. Hanna should be viewed by the citizens of the White river country, and of our state at large as a proud triumph and as a fair and unanswerable demonstration of the fact that our beautiful river is susceptible of safe navigation for steam vessels of a much larger class than was anticipated by the most sanguine. Resolved that Capt. Blythe's company of artillery be invited to parade on this day at 2 o'clock near the boat to fire a salute in honor of the occasion."

Perhaps a number who are here today remember the sad fate of the Gov. Morton, the side wheeler licensed to carry on the coasting trade. For thirteen months she was the pride and joy of every citizen of the town, but on the 6th of August,

1866, her all too short existence ended when she sank at her moorings below the old National Bridge.

Mrs. Carter, one of the ladies referred to in the ride up the river, was the wife of Major Thomas Carter, the auctioneer at the memorable sale of town lots October 8 to 12, 1821, and tavern keeper as well. He built a log tavern just west of the present News building and called it the Rose Bush.

Here the first theatrical performance of the town was given, December 31, 1823, by a Mr. and Mrs. Smith, purporting to be directly from the New York theaters. Neither actor was less than fifty, one witness of their performance states. "They essayed the principal roles in 'The Jealous Lovers,' and 'Lord, What a Snow Storm in May and June.' Admittance, 25 cents. No music, at first because the fiddle strings broke. Russell and Bolton were requested by our host, a strict Baptist, to play nothing but note tunes or psalms, as he called them."

Encouraged by their reception the Smiths filled a return engagement the next summer, but they made the awful mistake of advertising in the Gazette and not in The Censor, whereupon the editor of The Censor sarcastically observes: "Mr. and Mrs. Smith, whose performances were treated with so much contempt and ridicule last winter, arrived in town a few days ago and commenced their performance last night. * * * The encouragement of this company, whose exhibition we understand (for we have never witnessed them) afford neither instruction nor rational entertainment, would be a reproach upon our understandings and would evince a want of taste and discrimination in our citizens which we are proud to say does not exist." After such a blasting newspaper article, it is not surprising to learn that "Smith and his company have absconded without taking from us any of our cash." Mr. Bolton, husband of the poetess, Sarah T. Bolton, also wit-



nessed the performance referred to. He says Mrs. Smith, who was at least sixty years old, in addition to her part in the play, sang the "Star Spangled Banner" and danced a horn-pipe, blindfolded, among eggs. In these days of soaring prices this act would certainly be a dangerous and costly performance.

But Madam Wick is still waiting on the flat boat to be introduced. She was the wife of William W. Wick, elected the first judge by the Legislature at Corydon in the winter of 1821-22.

The first session of the Circuit Court, at which Judge Wick presided, was held in a private house at Indianapolis, September 26, 1822. After the Judge, Associate Judges and other officers of the Court had presented their commissions and taken the oath of office, including the oath against duelling, which was very stringent, the following lawyers were admitted to practice: Calvin Fletcher, Hiram M. Curry, Obed Foote, Harvey Gregg, of Indianapolis, Daniel B. Wick, Oliver H. Smith, James Noble, James Rairiden, James Whitcomb and Lot Bloomfield, from the state.

The order of business was as follows: First, selection of grand jurors and appointment of prosecuting attorney; second, establishment of prison bounds for insolvent debtors; third, naturalization of Richard Good, "lately from Cork in the Kingdom of Ireland," according to his own statement; fourth, granting a tavern license to John Hawkins, the first license granted for this purpose in Marion county. (Hawkins' tavern was situated where the Lombard building stands.)

So ended the first day of court in the new settlement.

Calvin Fletcher, appointed first prosecuting attorney, reached here in the fall of 1821. He had a prominent part in the town's advancement, laboring unceasingly with his friends, Ovid Butler, Caleb Mills, Bishop E. R. Ames and

others for the establishment of free schools, but not until April 25, 1853, were such schools opened in Indianapolis. On that date a code of rules and regulations prepared by Mr. Fletcher was adopted; it constitutes the basis of the code in force in the schools at the present day.

Throughout the period of the civil war Governor Morton often appealed to Mr. Fletcher, then a leading banker, for advice and aid. On one notable occasion a large sum of money was needed to pay off bounties so that soldiers might be quickly sent to the front. In this emergency the Governor went to his friend, saying, "There is urgent need of ready money. What can be done?" Instantly came the reply, "What did you bring to carry it in?" The two men looked about for a receptacle. A market basket near at hand caught their eyes. This was filled with money and, lifting it to his arm, the Governor carried away a heavy load, but a lighter heart.

The diary: "Spent the night with Madam Wick, also had tea; her table was spread with the fruits of her industry; went home early, set Mr. B. (Mr. James Blake, a boarder) gathering bean sticks, got some eggs from Mrs. Alec Wilson to set a hen. Commenced a roundabout to go with the pantaloons I had made..

July 1. There has been a great deal of talk about celebrating the Fourth. My husband is this day engaged in writing toasts for the celebration.

Thursday, the Fourth of July, 1822 (the first observed in the settlement). There appears to be a great stir and liveliness among the people; the men had a barbecue, a buck killed by Robert Harding yesterday, and dined under the green trees at the west end of Washington street, on the Military Reserve."

The celebration opened with a sermon by Rev. John Mc-



Clung, a New Light, probably the first preacher to settle in Indianapolis; a brief speech followed the reading of the Declaration of Independence by Judge Wick; Washington's Inaugural Address, by Squire Obed Foote; Washington's Farewell Address, by John Hawkins, and a prayer and benediction by the Rev. Robert Brenton.

Toasts, fourteen in number, by Calvin Fletcher finished the programme. I quote the last one: "Indianapolis, may it not prove itself unworthy the honor the state has conferred upon it by making it the capital."

It is now almost a hundred years since this toast was given at the first Fourth of July celebration held in the new capital. The centennial of the capital in the wilderness approaches. Without delay we should begin our preparations for its observance. Let there be much deliberation by those charged with this important matter before the form of celebration is decided upon.

Let us commemorate the founding of the town with a memorial of lasting value, with a memorial that shall prove beyond question that Indianapolis is worthy of the honor conferred upon it one hundred years ago, when it was made the capital of the state.

As a fitting ending to the first Fourth of July celebration, the settlers held a ball at Jacob R. Crumbaugh's house (Crumbaugh was a justice of the peace), situated at the corner of Missouri and Market streets. There were no social dividing lines, no caste distinctions at this time, we may be sure, for the carpenter danced with the postmaster's wife and the judge lead out the butcher's lady on this occasion. Until 1828 military and civic organizations celebrated the Fourth with firing of salutes, parades, speeches, dinners, etc.; from that time, however, for a quarter of a century, a new order of observance prevailed. The Sabbath school procession became

the great event of the day; it usually formed on Circle street and marched to the grove in the State House yard; here, before disbanding, the female teachers and the scholars, both male and female, were treated to refreshments of rusk and water, while the men concluded their celebration with a dinner in the sugar grove at the east end of the town, as far removed as possible from those who observed the day in a more ascetic manner by fasting on rusk and water.

The August entries in the dairy indicate much sickness among the people; there were frequent heavy rains and the water stood for months in the low spots of the ravines which traversed the town.

Malarial diseases followed. In fact, the ague was so prominent a feature of early Indianapolis that Mr. Dunn says it calls for special notice as one of the institutions of the place. Most of the settlers who suffered with it could say, as Demas McFarland did, that he "served a regular apprenticeship at the ague and worked at journey work at the chills and fever."

Mr. Demas McFarland, farmer, arrived in 1821. Many years after this date his daughters, maiden ladies, kept a school in the brick house on St. Clair street recently torn down to make way for the new Public Library. In this school the pupils learned the capitals of the states by singing, instead of reciting the lesson.

Because of the existing unhealthy conditions, it was fortunate for the settlers that five physicians established offices in Indianapolis at an early date. They were Drs. Mitchell, Scudder, Cool, Dunlap and Coe.

Dr. Mitchell was a very corpulent man, who never rode his horse out of a walk; he was made surgeon of the battalion raised in the town at the time of the Black Hawk war.

Young Dr. Scudder gave promise of a brilliant professional career, which was cut short by his death in 1829;

his colleagues showed their respect for his memory by wearing bands of crepe on their sleeves for thirty days.

Dr. Jonathan Cool, the best educated of them all, was a Princeton graduate and classmate of Judge Blackford. Dr. Cool made the first protest against the heroic doses of medicine given in those days.

Dr. Livingston Dunlap was the only surgeon in the town until Dr. Sanders came in 1830. Dr. Dunlap served in many civic offices and was professor of theory and practice in the Central Medical College. He had a large practice and his death in 1862 was widely lamented.

Dr. Isaac Coe came to the settlement in the spring of 1821. His home was near the Patterson homestead and the present City Hospital. He is remembered for his free use of calomel and the lancet. Mrs. Jane Merrill Ketcham, one of his patients in her childhood, says "it is no exaggeration to say that his pills were as large as cherries; twenty grains of calomel was a common dose and antimony until one was sure he was poisoned."

Dr. Coe was a charter member of the First Presbyterian Church, and his many years of service were recalled when, in 1901, the boxes in the corner stone of the church at the southwest corner of Pennsylvania and New York streets were opened on the clearing of the square for the Federal Building. The first box transferred from its resting place in the building of 1843, located on the Circle, contained the history of the church complete from 1821 to 1841 in Dr. Coe's handwriting, a period covering, among others, the pastorates of the Revs. David C. Proctor, George Bush, William A. Holli-day and Phineas D. Gurley. The church history of later years was found in the second box, with the names of the elders of 1866, Thomas H. Sharpe, Thomas MacIntire, William Sheets and Benjamin Harrison. The box also contained

this solemn injunction: "If this corner stone shall ever be displaced and these lines come before any human eyes in a coming generation, let whosoever may touch these memorials of those who have gone before them be assured that they inherit not only the toils but the prayers of many of the builders of this church."

Dr. Coe was the founder of Union Sunday School, which the writer of the diary mentions as early as June 16, 1822. This school was held in the cabinet shop of Caleb Scudder, which adjoined his dwelling on West Washington street, opposite the State House. Mr. Scudder is one of the most interesting of the early characters. Specimens of his cabinet work are prized today in Indianapolis homes.

Again I open the diary and find that busy autumn days are spent in gathering fruits and vegetables for winter use, in spinning wool for socks, in making a quilted petticoat. On an idle Sunday Thompson's Seasons was enjoyed and the Ladies' Casket read from cover to cover. Winter brought cold and snow; the wife was anxious for her husband who rode the distant circuit with Judge Wick.

But spring came at last and the maple sugar camp was opened. His son Miles later described the sugar-making as follows:

"In our pasture maple trees abounded. These, with the first thaw of the opening year, were tapped and sugar making began. Mother was the factotum in this business, but she carried it on very differently from the careless manner of most Hoosiers. Instead of sugar troughs, which were liable to stain the sap, she had clean crocks placed under the spiles. The sugar water when collected was carried to a half-faced camp and poured into kettles suspended by the side of a huge oak log. There, when the boiling was going on, mother stood and stirred and tasted and added until all was reduced to a

thick syrup. This was carried to the house, reboiled and grained, lest in the woods the flying pollen and early insects should mar the unsullied whiteness of the sugar. Sugar making time was a hey day for us boys. We scampered among the trees, playing Indian and hide and go seek. Mother showed us how to make whistles from the pawpaw bushes and pointed out the bloodroot, the snake root and ginseng which grew near the sugar camp."

Ginseng was wanted for the Chinese trade; it brought six cents a pound; it was very common in the woods and much of it was gathered, so that the sale of it developed to a considerable extent.

Thursday, March 6, 1823. "I was solicited to attend a tea party at Mrs. Walpole's. Am making a chemise. Commenced reading *The Horrors of Oakendale Abbey*, a romance" (the only one ever mentioned in the diary).

"December 1, 1823. Some Indians in with bear meat and venison; loins, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents apiece. Captain John, a Wyandot chief, is among the number." Captain John was considered a dangerous man, but no charges were ever brought against him, although he lived about the settlement many years. He made his home in a hollow sycamore log on the east bank of the river. Parties of Indians often visited the settlement with game to sell. Besides deer, wild turkey and bear, the small fur-bearing animals were abundant. There were waterfowl of all kinds and swans were seen on the river on several occasions. Wildcats and wolves were also not uncommon. Dr. William H. Wishard encountered a pack of wolves in 1826: he had been sent, when a boy, from his home in Morgan County to get meal at the old bayou mill at Indianapolis, starting home after dark through the dense forest, young Wishard was confronted by a pack of wolves, which had

killed a deer near the road, and had difficulty in getting away from them.

The debating club formed a diversion for the men of the settlement, with the merits of the presidential candidates oftentimes as election approached the favorite topic of debate. In that connection, the writer of the diary makes the following entry: "My husband attended the debating club last night and spoke of Henry Clay, whom he had seen in Ohio before we came to Indiana. I have copied what he said about Clay: 'I had the pleasure of measuring in my mind the height, breadth, features and politeness of the renowned Henry Clay, the Cicero, at least so pronounced by the wisdom of the U. S. A.; yet, for the want of taste and discernment, and being destitute of the scales by which we can rightly judge of human greatness, I shall have pronounced him only a common man. His manner of address is more indicative of politeness than of greatness and wisdom. I repeat having seen him, I shall have pronounced him only a common man.'"

"Wednesday, December 24, 1823. My husband and I attended a ball at Washington Hall; the day was clear and cold. Thirty couples were present. The supper was splendid and everything surpassingly agreeable."

"We are cooking and preparing for camp meeting." This entry refers to the meeting held on the Three Notch road in a rolling tract of ground covered by large oak trees, five miles south of town. "I started this morning on Pomp (the favorite cream colored horse), with E. on the pillion behind me; found many already there, although we had started early. It was a joyful time, the sky was so blue, the trees were so green and the sweet singing made me happy beyond expressing.

"As we rode home we met Brother Armstrong riding slowly

along, with a red silk handkerchief thrown over his head, singing a stirring Methodist hymn.

"We saw deer and turkey tracks along the way and once two bucks, with their antlers in the velvet, bounded across the road."

The first period of the settlement draws to a close. The state offices have at last been moved from Corydon and the Legislature is about to meet in the new capital, which to this time has had only the honor of the name.

The second period of the settlement opens with new and interesting events to record, but we search in vain for further entries in the diary.

With increasing family cares, the writer has found little time to devote to her journal and the entries become brief and infrequent, until at last they cease altogether as the pen drops from the busy fingers.

The day is not long enough for the home maker to finish the work of the household and her labors are continued into the night. Then the finished patchwork quilt is taken out of the frame and spread upon the big bed in the corner; and the boys are tucked into the trundle bed, drawn out to receive their tired bodies.

A fresh log is laid on the red coals in the fireplace; the lighted candle is placed on the stand by the window to guide the homeward steps of the husband and father.

The evening tasks are finished, finished except one.

With a sigh of relief, the mother, a pioneer of the Capital in the Wilderness,' bends over her baby's cradle and sings him to sleep with a soothing lullaby; with this sweet music my Allegro ceases.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS IN PUBLIC HEALTH IN INDIANA

BY DR. W. F. KING

This paper was originally read before the ninth annual session of the Indiana Sanitary and Water Supply Association in February, 1916, as a contribution to the Centennial program of that Association. The historical facts of the paper, so far as they pertain to the earlier years of the last century, have been gathered from the files of the *Western Sun*, published at Vincennes, in the period from 1808 to 1820, and of the *Indiana Republican* and *Madison Courier*, published at Madison from 1824 to 1850. Incomplete files of these earliest newspapers of the State are preserved in the State Library. Constituting as they do the earliest and most accurate record of events as they transpired within the State, these newspaper files should be considered one of the priceless possessions of the State to be preserved to future generations. Many of the events of a later period as noted in the paper have been gathered from the published annual Transactions of the Indiana State Medical Society, which cover the period from 1849 to 1907. So far as known, there is but one complete set of these transactions, that on file in the Indianapolis City Library. The bringing together of this complete series represents several years of patient effort on the part of Dr. Luther D. Waterman, of Indianapolis, who in the late years of his life set himself the task of collecting and preserving this most interesting and valuable record of the medical history of the State. Dr. Waterman related to the writer how, when he had finally secured a copy of each annual publication but one

and had almost despaired of being able to find the missing number, he was given a clue that led to the library of one of the early physicians of Louisville, and from there to the home of a granddaughter of this physician far up in the mountainous backwoods of Kentucky, where he was rewarded by securing a copy of the coveted number.

The subject of this paper is in reality a misnomer, since there has not been in Indiana a century of progress in public health administration. Public health is synonymous with preventive medicine, and preventive medicine had its real beginning with the discoveries of Pasteur, whose active life period was from 1860 to 1890. Pasteur proved that so-called contagious diseases were due to germs, mostly minute vegetable organisms, and he said, "It is within the power of man to drive all contagious and infectious diseases from the earth." Upon the demonstration and acceptance of this truth is based preventive medicine and public health as we know it today. A knowledge of germs and the germ cause of disease was denied the early settlers of Indiana, who, in addition to their task of subduing nature and hewing out a civilization, were compelled to fight against the ravages of cholera, smallpox, ague, typhoid, consumption, and many other mysterious disease forms, including that strange medical vagary known as "milk sick." The theories advanced and beliefs held as to the origin of and reasons for disease were many, varied and interesting. One firmly rooted and widespread belief which even yet is not wholly eradicated from the Hoosier mind, was that disease was sent by an offended Deity as punishment for sins. Another belief was in the "miasm," an invisible and indefinable something that arose from damp soil and from swamps, especially at night. A considerable remnant of this belief still persists among us in our ignorant fear of night air. Another belief was that the so-called diseases of child-

hood—measles, whooping cough, diphtheria, etc.—were both inevitable and immutable, and to attempt to escape them would be to fly in the face of Providence. Hence when the weather was considered seasonable and the blood of the possible victim was thought to be in good condition, children were deliberately exposed to these diseases.¹ Even this belief is frequently encountered in parents and occasionally in physicians in Indiana today.

The first white settlement in what is now Indiana was at Vincennes. In the issue of the *Western Sun*, published at Vincennes, of August 20, 1808, is to be found the first summons to community effort in behalf of public health, and doubtless the first newspaper protest against the indolence and inefficiency of "chair warming" town officials. In a vigorous editorial the *Sun* asserts that the cause of the ague and fever and bilious complaints affecting the town is to be found in the putrefaction of grass growing in the river opposite the village. The editor says: "A few hours' labor of the people of the town would remove the nuisance, and yet from the time the place has been inhabited, not a solitary exertion has been made to remove a sprig of the grass. Who and where are the trustees of the town? What are they doing and what is their duty? Is not the preservation of the health of the

¹It is not strange that these beliefs persisted when leading authorities failed for a long time to agree as to the contagiousness of disease. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes read a paper in 1843 on the contagiousness of puerperal fever. The essence of this paper was that "The disease known as puerperal fever is so far contagious as to be frequently carried from patient to patient by physicians and nurses." Professor Hugh Lenox Hodge, of the University of Pennsylvania, in 1852, in a discussion of this statement made by Dr. Holmes, took a distinctly opposite view. He says: "The result of the whole discussion will, I trust, divest your minds of the overpowering dread that you can ever convey, in any possible manner, a horrible virus so destructive in its effects and so mysterious in its operation as that attributed to puerperal fever." Professor Charles D. Meigs, of Jefferson Medical College, in the same year, 1852, published the following in reference to causes of puerperal fever: "I prefer to attribute them to accident, or Providence, of which I can form a conception, rather than to a contagion of which I cannot form any clear idea, at least as to this particular malady."

town an important branch of it? And is it not well recollected that the town was incorporated with a view expressly to that object? Will the people incur the risk of a four or five weeks' illness rather than employ a few hours in removing the cause that will inevitably produce it? If they will, they really deserve the curses of Heaven in every shape in which they can be inflicted."

In the same paper, under date of September 3, 1808, the editor says: "It is also not uncommon to see carcasses of horses, dogs, hogs, etc., lying in the streets and on the common near the village. This is not only highly offensive, but very injurious to the health of the inhabitants. As to cleanliness, the village is no better than an Indian camp. It is not recollected that the trustees of the town have taken any measures to remedy the above abuses, or if they have they have not been carried into effect." For an editor who found it necessary to accept pork and flax on subscription, and at a time when the gentle art of dueling was still in vogue, the above exhibits a degree of editorial courage and zeal for the cause of public health scarcely attained by the modern press.

The first Health Ordinance in Indiana was passed by the trustees of the borough of Vincennes, March 19, 1819, three years after the admission of Indiana as a State. This ordinance was in reality a blanket ordinance, covering a variety of nuisances against the public comfort and welfare. According to Section 1, a fine of five dollars was imposed on any person who cast any garbage or other offensive matter on any of the streets within the borough or so near thereto as to annoy the inhabitants in the neighborhood thereof. Section 2 provided that it "shall be the duty of the town constable to remove or cause to be removed all nuisances from the streets, and his further duty to give such person and persons as caused the nuisance, notice thereof and demand of him, her or them a

reasonable compensation for the time, trouble and expense of having removed the same, and if he, she or they neglect or refuse to pay the said constable as herein required, he shall immediately proceed to recover the same before any justice of the peace within this borough, together with the fine imposed by the first section." The town constable, therefore, became the first health officer and sanitarian in Indiana. The constable health officer of Vincennes doubtless soon found himself a busy official, for in the summer of the following year, 1820, an epidemic of yellow fever occurred that for a time almost depopulated the town and imposed a serious check upon its growth.

The first Health Ordinance in the town of Madison was passed August 6, 1824, and apparently had to do with the duties of the town marshal in keeping the streets and alleys free of waste and rubbish. A copy of this ordinance has not been found, but reference is made to it in a supplemental ordinance passed July 10, 1832, at a time when Asiatic cholera was spreading rapidly over the Eastern and Central States and bidding fair to reach Madison, which it did in October of the same year. By the terms of this supplemental ordinance the town was divided into two districts, separated by Mulberry creek. Hugh Gibson was appointed health commissioner of the first district and Charles Woodard of the second. These commissioners were "required to make personal inspection, once in two weeks until the 15th of November, of the premises of each individual and all streets, lanes and alleys, and cause the ordinance to prevent and remove nuisances to be carried into full effect." (The ordinance here referred to is that of August 6, 1824.) The sanitary inspection provision of this ordinance is far in advance of that in force in most towns and many cities of today and doubtless was scrupulously enforced, for cholera was knocking at the gates of Madison and her

citizens were more than willing to let the "health crank" have his way. In spite of the ordinance cholera came. The first death occurred October 23, 1832, and up to noon of November 1 there were forty-one cases with nineteen deaths.

The first Board of Health in Madison, and probably the first in the State, was appointed on the 25th of October, 1832, following the outbreak of cholera on the 23d. The board consisted of Messrs. Jeremiah Sullivan, John Pugh and Andrew Collins. The duty of the board was to meet daily at 1 p. m. to receive the reports of physicians. Thus we have not only the first official health board but the first official collection of vital statistics within the State.

The town of Madison passed another supplemental ordinance October 22, 1832, requiring all tenants and householders to keep the gutters in front of their premises clean, and to remove all filth that accumulated in front of their buildings, under penalty of not less than \$1 fine and the costs of suit.

In the *Indiana Republican*, published at Madison in 1832, in a discussion of cholera, which was then prevalent, the following causes are considered:

1. From malaria and bad air.
2. Exhalations from the bowels of the earth.
3. Insensible changes in the air.
4. The comet now approaching the globe.
5. Contagion from man to man.
6. Invisible insects flying in the air.

The epidemic of cholera that affected Madison in 1832, prevailed in practically every town in the State, with a death loss that must have been enormous. Governor Noah Noble, by proclamation under date of October 18, 1832, set apart the second Monday of November as a day "for fasting and prayer to an over-ruling Providence, beseeching Him to arrest the progress of the disease, with its train of calamities, and in

behalf of the churches he bespeaks the aid and influence of all who believe in the efficacy of prayer." Notwithstanding health boards, sanitary ordinances, prayer and fasting, the ravages of cholera continued through the summers of 1833 and 1834, and extended to the remotest boundaries of the State, ceasing only when the greater part of the population had either succumbed or been rendered immune by an attack of the disease.

An interesting reference to what was probably the first epidemic in Indianapolis is found in Historical Notes written by Dr. S. G. Mitchell and published in the *Indianapolis Gazette* of March 6, 1822. Under the head of intermittent and remittent fevers he says: "Out of one thousand souls in town on the donation and the farms surrounding the town, at least nine hundred sickened during the prevailing epidemic." This epidemic seems to have extended from about July 10 to the last of October, 1821, in which time twenty-five deaths occurred. This death rate applied to the present population of Indianapolis would mean a total of at least seven thousand five hundred deaths. In commenting on the natural conditions of the village at that time, the writer continues: "The dryness of the soil; the height of the ground above the bed of the river; the purity and quantity of water which every citizen obtains by digging wells from twenty to thirty feet, induces us with other reasons to expect that we may yet have a healthy town." This expectation, expressed almost a hundred years ago, has not yet been fully realized.

We must admit that even before Pasteur's discoveries, some progress had been made in the prevention of diseases caused by germs, even though the germ cause was not recognized. Sir Edward Jenner's discovery of vaccination as a preventive of smallpox was published in 1798 in England. Knowledge of this discovery had reached the United States at the be-

ginning of the Nineteenth Century, and from that time small-pox ceased to be the dread scourge wherever vaccination was practiced. Undoubtedly the first native of what is now Indiana to be vaccinated was Little Turtle, the famous Miami Indian chief. It is related that "while on a visit to Washington he learned of vaccination and at once had himself and the members of his party inoculated and carried the preventive to his people." This was prior to the organization of Indiana as a State, since the death of Little Turtle occurred in 1812. A splendid example of good citizenship in an untutored savage, that might well be emulated by the modern tribe of anti-vaccinationists with safety and profit, alike to themselves and the State.

In an editorial in the *Republic and Banner* of Madison, under date of June 28, 1834, appeared a list of "General Maxims for Health copied from a page of Sears' New Family Recipe Book." The following are deserving special notice and are just as true and worthy of acceptance today: "Rise early. Eat simple food. Take plenty of exercise. Eat what best agrees with your system and resolutely abstain from what hurts you, however well you may like it. Have nothing at all to do with quacks and do not tamper with quack medicines. Let those who love to be invalids drink strong green tea, eat pickles, preserves and hot biscuits. Have your bed chamber well aired and have fresh bed linen every week. It is not healthy to sleep in heated rooms."

An agitation for a permanent board of health is seen in an editorial in the *Republican and Banner* of Madison, June 12, 1834. The editorial fell on deaf ears, for in the next issue, June 19, 1834, the editor pays his compliments to the citizens of Madison in the following vigorous language: "The suggestion respecting the proposition of establishing a board of health for the town of Madison made by us last week, as far

as we are acquainted, produced no movement in the minds of Madison folks. This shows that they are not easily moved. Quite stiff. But it is our duty to make one more move on this subject, and we do it in order that our skirts may be clear. Madison ought to have a board of health, whether conscious of it or not."

There was a board of health in Bloomington as early as August, 1833. A report from this board, signed by C. P. Hester as secretary and published in the *Madison Republican and Banner* for August 29, 1833, shows that cholera appeared in Bloomington, August 10, of that year. Among its first victims was a student of the college and the college was closed until October 1. The first board of health in Fort Wayne was established in 1842, with Dr. John Evans, Dr. W. H. Brooks and Dr. B. Sevenick as members. The first health board in Indianapolis was established in 1850. The historian records that "there was so much ill feeling among the members that they did no good until 1854, when Dr. Jameson became a member and managed to put the concern in working order."

The intimate relation of a wholesome water supply to public health is now well known. In the early history of the State but little consideration was given to water supply except from the standpoint of convenience.

In Madison, previous to 1816, there were several public wells in use, the main one being in front of the courthouse where two gentlemen, named Thomas and Kirk, were hired to draw water by a windlass, and children were sent to them to procure the family water supply. The furnishers of the motive power were paid by the water consumers according to the amount of water each consumer used. There is an account of a construction in Madison, in 1816, which is believed to be the first public waterworks in the State of Indiana. An immense number of logs were cut and a Mr. Allison had the

contract for boring holes in them. They were fitted together and laid as a water main, the supply being taken from a spring on the hills. There were three plugs for public use at different street crossings, constructed of hollow posts standing upright, with holes bored in the side stopped with wooden plugs. When a person wanted a bucket of water he pulled out the plug, let the bucket run full and then plugged up the hole again. This old log system was long in use. Finally, however, men engaged in hauling water with carts, in order to create a greater demand for hauled water and possibly to build up a monopoly, dug down to the logs at the foot and chopped holes in them. Thus ended the first public water supply in this State. Later on, May 3, 1826, two years after the incorporation of Madison as a town, a committee was appointed to inquire into the expediency of furnishing the city with water. This resulted in the purchase by the city of private wells and their institution as a source of supply, both public and private. The records show an allowance in 1827 of expense of walling, cleaning and improving the public wells. On January 13, 1830, a notice appears, stating that proposals will be received to bring a sufficiency of water into the town to supply the inhabitants. Protection against fire at this time seems to have been the paramount reason for the urgent demand for a water system, and quantity was especially emphasized. However, in the meantime the town was awake to the protection of the public spring against pollution, as shown by an ordinance passed May 16, 1833, providing as follows: "That it shall be unlawful for any person to wash himself or any other thing, to water horses or cattle of any kind, or commit any act of indecency in or near the public spring." The second and third sections provide a fine of not more than \$20 nor less than 50 cents and the enforcement of the law by the town marshal. A contract was made on November 25, 1834, with John Sheets, granting

exclusive right and privilege of supplying the inhabitants of Madison with water for all purposes. A committee was appointed on July 10, 1837, to inquire into the propriety of accepting the proposition of John Sheets to abandon his contract. August 18, 1837, this same committee was authorized to secure real estate for the purpose of building a water plant and to secure the relinquishment of the John Sheets contract. Considerable and long drawn out discussion ensued, the outcome of which was a proposal submitted by T. J. Godman on November 12, 1846, to furnish the city with water. The Godman agreement was accepted December 19, 1846, and was followed by immediate steps towards its fulfillment. The *Madison Courier* of March 2, 1850, has this to say: "The Messrs. T. J. Godman have laid about 5,000 feet of the indestructible iron water pipe manufactured by Ball & Company, which proves to be the superior pipe represented in an article published by us. The work of laying the pipe to supply the city with pure spring water is progressing very rapidly." It may be of interest to note that the pipe here referred to was replaced in the year 1916 after a service of seventy years.

Brookville had a waterworks system in operation as early as 1820. The town was so situated that the digging of a well was practically an impossibility, therefore the source of supply for domestic purposes was entirely from springs. Fortunately this early settlement was favored with several springs along the west fork of Whitewater, one of these being of unusual magnitude. Carrying and hauling water soon became tiresome to the people, and one of their number devised ways and means for a public supply delivered to their doors. Nature provided the gravity force back of the water, and pipes were constructed of green sycamore saplings of three-inch bore, prepared by William Adams, a practical pumpmaker, for

which work he was paid by the foot. The plant was constructed under the supervision of Messrs. McCarty and Allen, who represented the town. They paid Amos Butler, on whose ground this spring was located, \$500 for the water and also right of way. This seems rather a small sum in this day, yet at the time of purchase—one hundred years ago—it was looked upon as a very large sum indeed. The sapling pipes were laid underground, and a reservoir eight feet in depth was constructed of oak planks. Only one family could boast of having water piped into their home, the balance of the consumers depending on a connection or arrangement of some kind outside of their houses. The story goes that those who lived under the hill and had private wells considered the users of this public supply as aristocrats, and occasionally a stray cat or dog, somewhat the worse for wear, was deposited in the reservoir to portray their feelings. The pipes, as stated, were made of green sycamore and were allowed to lie in the sun for some time previous to their installation, which caused them to split a short time after being in service. Finally, the strong gravity pressure burst the pipes and the plant ceased operation in the early part of 1824. Astonishing to relate, Brookville did not construct a second plant for public supply until 1890, or sixty-six years later.

The *Western Sun*, of Vincennes, dated October 20, 1810, publishes this appeal, evidently from the editor: "The citizens of Vincennes are particularly requested to attend a meeting at the house of Peter Jones, Esq., on Saturday, the 27th inst., for the purpose of making some arrangements for forming a fire company. The importance of this object will, I hope, induce a general attendance." Evidently this meeting did not meet with the success the editor had hoped for, as no volunteer department was organized until 1819, when they were blessed with two companies. Intense rivalry resulted and

when called on to perform their duty, in a great many cases, buildings were allowed to burn down while the rival companies were asserting their rights. In the *Indiana Republican* of Madison, on November 15, 1832, we find an ordinance providing, "That upon fire breaking out within the corporation in the night, the first drayman arriving at the fire with hogshead or barrel filled with water shall receive a reward of \$2.00, and if in the daytime \$1.00 therefor." The remainder of the ordinance provided that all draymen delivering water for the extinguishment of fire should receive for each barrel 12½ cents, and for each hogshead 25 cents.

The first medical society in the State was formed at Vincennes June 2, 1817, being organized in conformity to an Act of the Legislature passed December 24, 1816, entitled "An Act to regulate the practice of physic and surgery." This society was known as a "district society," because it included only a judicial district. What may be taken as the first public health admonition from the organized medical profession of the State is found in the constitution of this first medical society which declared that "Physicians should never neglect an opportunity of fortifying and promoting the good resolutions of patients suffering under the bad effects of intemperance and vicious lives." Singularly enough, the medical profession finds it necessary to cry out against the same physical evils today, after the lapse of a hundred years of progress and education. The first State Medical Society was formed in 1820, at Corydon, the capital of the State. This society was probably short lived, as there is no further reference to it to be found.

In 1845 or 1846 the doctors of Indianapolis organized what was called the Marion County Medical Society, which met once a week at the Old Governor's House, then occupying Governor's Circle, now Monument Place. History records no

public health admonition or scientific discussion emanating from this society, but it is recorded that the members were much given to the consideration of fleshpots and of the contents of sundry black bottles, which may account for the dearth of transactions of a medico-public health nature.

The present Indiana State Medical Society was organized at a medical convention in Indianapolis in June, 1849. At this first convention of the doctors of the State the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to memorialize the legislature asking them to provide by law for a registration of births, marriages, and deaths." Cholera was at that time raging at New Albany to such an extent as to prevent the delegate from that county, Dr. W. H. Dowling, from attending the convention. "The mills of the gods grind slow." In 1881, thirty-two years after, the legislature enacted the first Vital Statistics law.

At the second meeting of the State Medical Society, in May, 1850, it was "Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed in distant parts of the State, whose duty it shall be to report to the executive committee at least one month before the next annual meeting, all meteorological facts and their connection with epidemics. Resolved, That the executive committee be instructed to frame from the facts a report which may be of general interest."

At the meeting of the State Medical Society in May, 1851, Dr. George Sutton, of Aurora, presented a vivid report of the epidemic of cholera in Aurora and Dearborn county which occurred in 1849. At the beginning of the outbreak he says: "Large fires were made at the corners of streets in the infected portion of the town and cannons were fired every twenty-five minutes for four or five hours. This I have no doubt did harm." He further states that "out of ninety-seven people in

the infected district of Aurora, fifty-one died, while 1600 out of the population of 2000 left the town."

At this meeting of the State Medical Society (1851), it was "Resolved, That, as the responsibilities of the medical profession as conservators of public health, require at their hands all proper efforts to protect the community from the injurious effects of nostrums and patent medicines whose composition and constituent elements are unknown and often unfit to be used; and whereas, this growing evil which is impairing the health and wasting the means of the community can be reached and remedied in no way so well as by legislative enactment; therefore, a committee of seven shall be appointed whose duty it shall be to prepare and present to the legislature a memorial setting forth concisely the evil and dangerous results of the vending and using as medicines, preparations whose constituent parts are unknown, and requesting at their hands such enactment as may compel under penal sanctions, all vendors of secret remedies to append to them a full and true detail of their compound elements."

The belief of the fathers of medicine in Indiana in the efficacy of elaborate resolution seems to have been exceeded only by their childlike faith in the integrity of the legislature. The patent medicine fraud continues to flourish like a green bay tree. A sucker is said to be born every minute, a new patent cure-all appears every week, the supply equals the demand, while the unholy partnership between commercialized medical fraud and the advertising departments of the press, on which the whole miserable fabric rests, continues to extort a constantly increasing toll of "blood money" from the frailty and weakness of humanity.

An advertising page from the *Madison Republican and Banner* of 1834, can scarcely be distinguished from the advertising pages of many newspapers of today, as witness the following patent medicine ads:

F. White's Toothache Drops. "The only specific ever offered to the public." LaMott's Celebrated Cough Drops. "Peculiarly adapted to the present prevailing disorders of the breast and lungs leading to consumption." Dr. Wm. Judkins' Specific Ointment, of which the proprietor says: "I feel grateful in finding myself the instrument and thus handing out such a remedial agent by the effects of which so much human suffering has been erased." Dr. Bloodgood's Elixir of Health. "A universal restorative and better adapted to the constitution of man than any other medicine ever offered to the publick." Extremely interesting is the advertisement of Dr. Andrew S. McCarmic at Vincennes, in 1817, who announced that he would "charge not a cent if he suffers a third chill to take place if his directions are attended to."

An effort to secure a public health and vital statistics law for Indiana was made by the State Medical Society in 1855, but the legislature was too busy with the problems and intricacies of a State banking system. In 1875, a committee was appointed by the State Medical Society to draft a bill for the establishment of a State Board of Health. This bill was introduced in the legislature but failed to pass. Again, in 1877, a similar bill was introduced and again failed to become a law. The State Medical Society then undertook voluntarily the collection of vital statistics throughout the State, and also the collection of facts relative to epidemic and endemic diseases. A State Health Commission was formed with local or district commissions throughout the State to collect vital and sanitary statistics and report the same to the State Commission.

This effort was necessarily incomplete and inaccurate, but speaks eloquently of the unselfish attitude of the organized medical profession toward the larger public good involved in preventive rather than curative medicine.

The first State Health Law, which also provided for the

establishment of a State Board of Health, was enacted by the legislature of 1881. The first meeting of the State Board of Health was held in the office of Governor Albert G. Porter, November 3, 1881, with the following members present: Dr. John W. Compton, Evansville; Dr. Thaddeus M. Stevens, Indianapolis; Dr. J. M. Partridge, South Bend, and Dr. W. W. Vinnedge, Lafayette. Dr. Thaddeus M. Stevens was selected as the first secretary of the board and his salary was fixed at \$1200 per year. Dr. Stevens served as secretary to March 15, 1883, being succeeded by Dr. E. R. Hawn, who served until his death, September 6, 1883. Dr. E. S. Elder served from September 6, 1883, to May 8, 1885; Dr. C. N. Metcalf, from May 8, 1885, to March 10, 1896, when he died. He was succeeded by Dr. J. N. Hurty, who was appointed March 12, 1896, and who will soon round out twenty-five years of faithful and efficient service to the people of Indiana and to the cause of public health.

Public health administration rests upon a three-fold basis: Legislation, organization, and education. Along all these lines much has been accomplished, much more remains. A few years ago the American Medical Association undertook a survey of the activities, equipment and accomplishments of the various State Boards of Health of the United States. Dr. Charles V. Chapin, Health Commissioner of Providence, R. I., and one of the leading sanitarians of the United States, was chosen for this work and made a personal study of each State Board of Health in the Union. The report has this to say in regard to Indiana:

"The department of health in Indiana seems to have kept free from political interference, and its efficient executive has remained in the office for many years and has been able to follow a consistent policy.

"A successful registration of deaths has been developed.

and that of births is rapidly improving and is doubtless over 90 per cent.

"Contagious diseases are still not well reported, though the bacteriologic laboratory has done a good amount of most excellent work.

"A member of the laboratory staff administers antirabic treatment and the cost is defrayed by a portion of the dog tax. Typhoid vaccine is made and distributed, and provision is made for the sale of diphtheria antitoxin at a low price.

"Much educational work has been done in connection with tuberculosis. The State maintains a sanatorium of one hundred beds and has a permissive hospital law for counties.

"The bureau of foods and drugs is well known outside the State for its excellent work against adulteration. Good work has also been done in fighting fraudulent nostrums. A good deal of attention has been given to the sanitation of places where food is prepared and handled. The cold storage law is administered by this department. Some work is being done for the improvement of milk supplies.

"Water and sewage control is under the bureau of food and drugs of this department. Much has been done in the way of inspection and surveys, and improvement in local water supplies has been brought about by advice and orders. The law, however, is not entirely satisfactory, and it does not provide for the filing and approval of plans.

"The educational work of the department is especially prominent and effective. Dr. Hurty has devised many new details which have been copied by others, such as the Governor's letter presenting the 'baby book' to mothers. It is possible, however, that carelessness is sometimes permitted as to subject matter.

"The department has broad powers over the sanitary conditions of public buildings, especially schoolhouses, and during

the past two years a large number of schoolhouses have been condemned and others renovated. It is estimated that nearly \$4,000,000 has been expended in these improvements.

"The department believes, and is doubtless correct, that the chief need at the present time is improvement in local health administration. A bill to secure this failed of passage at the present session of the legislature, but effort should be continued to secure, in one way or another, the needed improvement in the service.

"Meanwhile, the State Board of Health could do much to improve the control of communicable diseases by developing and strengthening the epidemiologic work of the department.

"With sufficient State supervision, a great deal could be accomplished even with the present local health officials.

"A better and more modern water and sewerage law is needed, and it would be wise to establish a division of engineering entirely separate from the food and drugs division."

This is the estimate of an unbiased observer and strikes directly at the weak points in the present system of public health administration in Indiana.

The achievements and discoveries of preventive medicine, since the discoveries of Pasteur, will go down in history as the crowning glory of our time. Typhoid fever is an accurate index of the sanitary civilization of a community, because it is known to be a disease easily preventable by community cleanliness. It has been demonstrated repeatedly that typhoid fever can be almost entirely eradicated from any community by intelligent attention to two points, namely, a good water supply and proper disposal of sewage. Antityphoid vaccination has proven its value as an aid to sanitation.

In 1898, among 10,759 United States soldiers at Jacksonville, there were 2,693 cases of typhoid fever and 248 deaths. In 1911, among 12,801 soldiers at San Antonio there was one

case of typhoid, no death. The difference was due solely to better camp sanitation and compulsory vaccination of all soldiers. The medical and sanitary achievements of the World War are too recent and too well known to require comment. It is interesting to note, however, that in the entire American Army there were fewer than five hundred cases of typhoid fever and less than twenty-five deaths from this cause.

Yellow fever, the scourge of the tropics, has been eradicated wherever intelligent effort has been made to destroy the breeding places of a single species of mosquito (*Stegomyia calopus*) which carries the germs of yellow fever from the sick to the well. Malarial fever is also carried in the same way but by a different species of mosquito (*Anopheles*). The value of these two discoveries was most strikingly illustrated in the construction of the Panama Canal, and it can truthfully be said that the completion of the canal was as much a triumph of preventive medicine as of engineering skill. Ague disappeared from Indiana only with the drainage of swamps and consequent destruction of breeding places of the malaria-carrying mosquito. Bubonic plague has been known as black death and has ravaged Europe, Asia and Africa for centuries. Twenty years ago it was discovered that the germ of plague is carried to man by fleas from rats and certain species of squirrels. Plague has reached the United States three times since this discovery, at San Francisco in 1900, again in 1907, and at New Orleans in 1914. Prompt and intelligent action by health officials exterminated the disease in each case.

Asiatic cholera is spread almost entirely by polluted drinking water. The last serious epidemic in Indiana occurred in 1854. Tuberculosis is a preventable disease. The germ of tuberculosis was discovered in 1882. In Indiana, in 1904, the death rate from tuberculosis was 187 per 100,000. In 1918

the rate was 137.8 per 100,000. This is still far too high, but what has been accomplished proves that a practical application of our knowledge of this disease will bring it more completely under control in the near future. Diphtheria has taken its toll of child life for many years in every part of the world. The germ of diphtheria was discovered in 1883, and this was soon followed by the discovery of diphtheria antitoxin. Before antitoxin practically 50 per cent. of all cases died. At the present time not to exceed 4 per cent. are fatal. Such examples might easily be multiplied almost indefinitely to show the beneficent accomplishments of preventive medicine and efficient public health administration. It can be shown that pellagra and hookworm are well understood and can easily be prevented; that a large proportion of insanity, feeble-mindedness, crime, poverty and moral degeneracy is due to preventable causes, and that all these are in reality problems of public health. The great need in Indiana today is a system of public health administration that recognizes the three basic principles of efficiency, namely legislation, organization, and education. Legislation conferring upon health officials full power to act. Organization with trained health officials giving all-time service in every community. Education in sanitation and prevention that will reach every citizen of the State and challenge his support and co-operation. Lord Beaconsfield said: "The public health is the foundation on which rests the happiness of the people and the power of a country. The care of the public health is the first duty of a statesman."

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IN

1790

BY

M. M. QUAIFE

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NOTE

The following journal of Henry Hay—son of the “Major Hay,” who was captured at Vincennes with General Hamilton, by George Rogers Clark—presents an intimate view of life at Fort Wayne in the winter of 1789-90. It was originally printed by Mr. Quaife in the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society for 1914, under the title: “A Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier.” On account of its peculiar interest to Indiana it is reproduced here, by permission of Mr. Quaife and the Wisconsin Historical Society.

INTRODUCTION

Probably the vast majority of Americans think of the Revolutionary War as lasting from 1775 to 1783. It is true the Treaty of Paris marks the formal conclusion of the struggle. But it does not mark the conclusion of angry debate with the mother country, nor the evacuation of American territory by British soldiery. Neither Great Britain nor the United States adhered scrupulously to its treaty obligations, and the former manifested no intention of evacuating the Western posts, lying within the borders of the younger nation. The real reason for this was commercial. On the fur trade depended the prosperity of Canada. To control the fur trade the British must control the Indians. Hence the obligation to evacuate the upper posts was disregarded, and for a dozen years after the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris the major portion of the country northwest of the Ohio River continued to be treated as British territory. The Indian tribes of this region were then numerous and powerful. Relying upon the British for material support they waged bloody warfare upon the Americans in the vain hope of confining the advancing tide of settlement to the south side of the Ohio. The government of the Confederation was almost a nullity. Its successor, the feeble Federal government, distracted by the many problems pressing for solution, was exceedingly averse to accepting the gage of battle thus thrown down. When at length it did, three successive armies and five years of painful effort were required to humble the belligerent tribesmen. Thus the Revolution in the West may not unfairly be said to have lasted a score of years, and to have closed only with the Jay and Greenville treaties.

A variety of reasons exist for publishing the Journal which is presented in the following pages. The incidents recorded day by day by this British partisan, sojourning in one of the chief of the hostile towns, shed a ghastly light upon the forays which goaded the American bordermen to madness and their government into reluctant war. A perusal of the details presented by our journalist—the heart of the American prisoner, “pierced with a stick and preserved “like a piece of dried venison;” the plight of the captive, John Witherington, separated from his wife, “7 months gone with childe,” and seven children, who had fallen into the hands of other bands of barbarians; the destruction of forty souls, men, women, and children; the all night dance of savage triumph in celebration of such atrocities as these—prepare the reader to appreciate the indignation with which the militant author of *The Winning of the West* wrote of this period in our history.

Whether justly or not, the harassed American borderers ascribed to Great Britain the real responsibility for their intolerable plight. The present day opinion of well informed students of the subject inclines to acquit the home government of any positive agency in the matter. But the present day scholar, possessing sources of information denied to contemporaries and entire immunity from the gory scalping knife and tomahawk, may consider the subject calmly and philosophically; the American borderer's opinions were based upon the acts of Great Britain's agents in America and the visible facts of the situation on the frontier. Whatever the real motives of the home government in the premises, the conclusions drawn by the frontiersmen from the information at their command were not unreasonable. Whoever would understand the enthusiasm of the frontier for war with England in 1812 must take account

of the conditions revealed by such documents as the one which follows. When the Delawares threaten to remove to the Spaniards, and, "not go to war against the Americans any more," the authority of McKee, the British Indian agent, is invoked to restrain them. When it is believed that the trader, Lasselle, is to be burned by the natives because of his supposed sympathy with the Americans, the affair is reported to Major Murray, the British commandant at Detroit; and Lasselle's good character is finally established by a certificate signed by all the villagers—living in the heart of the modern Indiana—that he is "a good loyalist" and "always for supporting his King." A trader going to the Wabash must have a British pass; one who speaks disrespectfully of the British officials at Detroit is reported to those authorities therefor; while the author of our Journal, a British partisan, dares not venture his "carcass" among the Americans at Vincennes.

Some interesting views are afforded by the Journal of the conditions affecting the conduct of the fur trade. The calling of the trader was one of toil and privation, his life constantly liable to forfeiture at the hands of the elements or of the fickle and impulsive red man. The sordid rivalry of the traders; the situation of Chevallier, "continually exposed to the malice and treachery of the Indians about him," the degenerating influence of the wild life, exhibited in the renegade, Montraville; the menu of acorns on which La Fontaine lived for five days in succession; the lying report about Lasselle, designed to compass his destruction; details such as these incline one to give the journalist's dictum that it was "a Rascally Scrambling Trade" a more general application than was intended by its author.

For the general reader the chief interest of the document


will lie, probably, in its picture of the life of the old French and Indian trading post, Miamitown. As I pen these lines my eye strays for a moment to the advertisement, on the page of a half-opened magazine, of a great manufacturing establishment of Fort Wayne; and as with a sudden rush I seem to realize how wide is the gulf which separates the life of the city at the forks of the Maumee today from that of its predecessor of a century and a quarter ago. The St. Joseph and St. Mary's still unite to form the Maumee, and still the spring-time flood, which drove the French habitants to their garrets and made the canoe the only vehicle of transportation from house to house, recurs to plague the modern city. But in all else the imagination can scarcely conceive a wider gulf than the one which separates the Fort Wayne of today from the Miamitown of 1790.

Our journalist presents, as with a moving picture film, a cross-section of life from what is commonly considered the most romantic period in the history of the old Northwest. To the critical eye of the conquering Anglo-Saxon the French settlers were slothful, vicious, and indolent. That there was a measure of truth in this judgment need not be denied. But the characteristic vivacity and gaiety of the French spirit shows nowhere to better advantage than when set off by such hard material conditions as those portrayed in the following pages. A careless reader of the Journal might well gather the impression that social diversion was the chief business of its characters. Feasts, dances, and ceremonies follow one another in close succession. The settlers assemble for midnight mass and for morning and evening prayers on Sunday, called there-to by the lusty ringing of cowbells. The musicians play the flute and fiddle indifferently for drinking bout and mass, and

at times go reeling from the one to the other. A "Pigg" is stolen for a joke and the victim composes a ballad on the subject. The order of the "Friars of St. Andrew" is organized for purposes not sanctioned by the rules of St. Benedict, furnishing the subject for another ballad. Not even the flooding of the town suffices to quench the gaiety, for before the flood has subsided the ladies are taken for a row on the river to the accompaniment of fiddle and flute.

Interesting, too, are some of the quaint customs of the time. Men appear at a ball wearing fur caps adorned with "Black Ostridge Feathers" and "amasingly large" cockades of white tinsel ribbon. On New Year's day the journalist makes the round of the village kissing all the ladies "young and old." That temperance reform had as yet made its appearance at the forks by the Maumee can scarcely be affirmed. On December 25 our journalist and his companions became "infernally drunk;" at an entertainment the following evening all except the writer became "very drunk;" the next evening the celebrants are "damned drunk;" and the following forenoon finds them again at their cups. On the occasion of another evening party it is deemed worthy of record that none of the men became drunk, "which is mostly the case in this place when they collect together."

The original Journal is the property of the Detroit Public Library. For furnishing the copy here presented acknowledgment is due Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit, a valiant laborer in the local historical field. The document is a small volume having a calfskin cover. It bears upon both sides the name of P. H. Hay but within the journalist preferred, apparently, to sign the name Henry. Without positive knowledge in the premises, I am inclined to think that P. H. Hay and Henry Hay were one and the same person, an opinion shared by Mr.



Burton. Pierre Hay was born and baptized September 11, 1765. The records of St. Anne Parish contain no further mention of him, but Henry is mentioned as a witness at baptisms in 1787 and 1792.

The father, Jehu Hay, was a Detroit citizen of much prominence in the generation of the Revolution. A native of Pennsylvania, he enlisted in the Sixtieth American Regiment during the French and Indian War, and in 1762 was sent to Detroit with a detachment of troops. He served there during Pontiac's War and later entered the Indian Department. In 1776 he was made deputy Indian agent and major of the Detroit militia. In this capacity he acted as Governor Hamilton's chief assistant in the latter's contest with George Rogers Clark for the control of the Northwest. Upon the triumph of the latter, Hay, like Hamilton, his leader, was consigned to a Virginia dungeon. Toward the close of the war, having been released from captivity and returned to Quebec, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Detroit; he had actually performed the duties of his office for only a year, however, when his career was cut short by death, in 1785.

The nature of Henry Hay's mission to Miamitown is nowhere stated in the Journal. Apparently he was in the pay of William Robertson, the Detroit merchant; there seems to be ground, too, for the conjecture that he was acting in some public capacity for Major Murray. Possibly the missing pages would have supplied the explanation, but its absence does not affect materially the historical interest attaching to the document.

Miamitown, where Hay passed the winter, was in 1790 the most important center of the Miami Indians. Situated at the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph rivers, and com-

manding the important Maumee-Wabash portage, it was one of the vital strategic points of the Northwest. Recognizing this the French, in their expansion over the interior, in 1722, established a fort on the St. Mary's, at the beginning of the portage. In 1747, as the result of an Indian conspiracy, Fort Miami was burned to the ground. It was shortly rebuilt, at the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's, and was occupied successively by French and English garrisons until the summer of 1763, when it fell before the followers of Pontiac. The garrison was not restored thereafter by the English, but the French habitants continued to reside here, and the traders to resort to the place. As one of the chief centers whence the Indian war parties issued forth against the border settlements, when the American government at length determined upon a course of retaliation, Miamitown was at once marked for chastisement. Over the festive traders a dire fate was impending. The Americans believed that they were engaged in hounding the savages on to their work of devastation and torture. The traders on their part denied this, and probably with truth, for the conditions of Indian warfare and the successful prosecution of the fur trade were mutually antagonistic. This fact in no wise altered the American belief, however, and General Harmar, commander of the army about to be launched against Miamitown, was promising, in the event of a successful issue of the campaign, to attend to the case of "the villanous traders."

When the American army at length approached, in October, 1790, the natives drew back a short distance in anticipation of the blow. Miamitown was burned and a series of bloody conflicts ensued. The stream whereon but a few months before the Canadian ladies had been rowed to the music of violin and

flute now ran red with the blood of the soldiers. Eventually the Americans retired, the net result of the expedition being a "mortifying failure."

Harmar's expedition inaugurated a five-year period of warfare by the American government for the reduction of the tribesmen. Through it all, the site of Miamitown at the forks of the Maumee was a principal goal of endeavor. St. Clair was ordered to establish a large military station here in 1791; instead, he led his army to one of the most terrible defeats in American military annals. In 1794, a third American army at length succeeded. Miamitown was once more ravaged. Fort Wayne was constructed, and therewith the name of the grim conqueror became permanently attached to the place. With this change, this introduction to Hay's Journal may properly conclude.

JOURNAL FROM DETROIT TO THE MIAMI RIVER

Left Detroit 9th. December 89, in company with Mr. Leith,¹ and attended by a French man and a negro. Got this night within $\frac{1}{2}$ mile of Adam Browns,² slept in a deserted House, found it difficult to get a canoe to cross River aux Ecorse.

10th. Left this place about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 o'clock. Crossed the River Huron very well, from that proceeded to River au Raisin³ w[h]ere arrived about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 o'clock in the Evening, found the roads very bad, creeks high, owing to the great falls of rain; slept at Capt. Bennacs⁴ Justice of the Peace of this new Settlement who received us very well—saw my uncle Baptist Reaume⁵ who promised to send my Maire into Detroit immediately.

¹George Leith, a prominent Detroit trader. In 1788 he was represented to a government investigating committee at Quebec as a man "of liberal education and highly respected in the settlement [Detroit]." *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XI, 633. A number of his letters are printed in *Indiana Magazine of History*, V, 138 ff.

²According to one account of Pontiac's Conspiracy Adam Brown was at Detroit as early as 1763. He resided at Brownstown for a long time, later removing to Malden. In 1793 and 1794 he furnished supplies to the British authorities for use on the Maumee. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 366; XXXV, 63, 64; XXXVI, 358.

³The modern Raisin. On Thomas Hutchins' map of 1778 the name appears as "Au Rosine."

⁴Probably J. Porlier Benac, captain of the Raisin River militia company. After Jay's Treaty Benac was one of those who elected to remain a British subject. See *Ibid.*, VIII, 410, 498; XXIV, 248.

⁵Pierre and Hyacinthe Reaume, brothers, came to Detroit in 1726. They became the progenitors of a numerous line of descendants, who from Detroit spread over the Northwest. Baptiste Reaume was evidently the brother of Hay's mother, whose maiden name was Marie Julie Reaume.

11th. Left Capt. Bennacas this morning about 8 o'clock; it was with difficulty that we crossed the River Rozin the Water being very high—Rain this morning, which turned out into snow afterwards. Found the Roads damned bad about half way, arrived at the Foot of the Rapids at McCormicks about sun sete—found myself very tired; found Mr. Arthur McCormick here going out Trading—

12th. Left Mr. McCormick about 10 o'clock, stopped at Cochrans at Roch de Bout⁶ gott a Venison Stake & proceeded to the Prierie des Maske⁷ were we made a large fire & encamped, found the roads pretty passable.

13th. Left this place this morning about 8 o'clock and proceeded to Glaize,⁸ w[h]ere we arrived about ½ past 3 o'clock—we were received very graciously by Mr. McDonnell who lives there; he gave us good venison stakes & cyder—grogg &c. for Dinner;—Roasted venison for supper. &c.

14th. Left this place about 11 o'clock; but we were obliged to send our little baggage on to the little Glaize about three miles from this bigg Glaize which [a] canoe crossed us over—and we swam our Horses—the water was very high. Slept this

⁶Roche de Bout was the name given by the early French travelers to a rocky point projecting into the channel of the Maumee about a mile above the modern Waterville, Lucas County, Ohio. It was also the name of an Ottawa village in the immediate vicinity. Wayne's decisive victory over the tribesmen in the battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794, occurred a short distance down the Maumee from Roche de Bout. See C. E. Slocum, *History of the Maumee River Basin* (Defiance, O., 1905), 461; F. W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians* (Washington, 1907).

⁷Prairie du Masque was a camping station a short distance above the Grand Rapids of the Maumee; so called from the fancied resemblance of the grass-covered bank to the form of a woman. The early American settlers, with unconscious humor, transformed the name into Damascus. Slocum, *op. cit.*, 553.

⁸At the junction of the Au Glaize River with the Maumee; commonly called by the American Grand Glaize, or Glaize. Fort Defiance was built there by Wayne in 1794, and later the place became the site of the modern city of Defiance.

evening about 8 Leagues from the place we sett out from upon a Hill—Mr. McDonnell and one Blanchet⁹ an ancient Canadia[n] Trader came with us as far as this and slept with us; Mr. McDonnell had a horse load of Indian goods and was going to trade them at the Indian wigwams a few miles in the woods—a small distance from the place we encamped we met with some Indian Hutts which Mr. McDonnell visited. on his coming an Indian asked him if he was hungry; answered yes, then says he I'll roast a Rackoon for you & asked w[h]ere he intended to encamp that he might know w[h]ere to bring it—Mr. McDonnell told him—Mr. McD. told us his story. I believe the Indian wanted to do it, but Leith did not.—However about 8 o'clock in the evening, just after we had supped, we perceived a fire brand coming thro' the woods, which proved to be the Indian with a roasted Rackoon cut up in a wooden dish which he delivered to Mr. McDonnell. He seemed to be a very merry fellow, he left us about 10 o'clock—left his wooden dish, it being their custom, they come for it when they find you are gone.—Haile and raine this evening & part of the night.

15th. Parted with Mr. McDonnell & Blanchet this morning about 8 o'clock—rain and hail till 11 or 12 o'clock, found the Road very bad. slept at [illegible] about 7 leagues and a half from the Miami Town—a little snow this evening.

16th. Left this place this morning about ½ past 9 o'clock

⁹Possibly Joseph Blanchet, a French-Canadian trader who assisted in the ransoming of O. M. Spencer at Grand Glaize in 1792. See *A True Narrative of the Captivity of the Rev. O. M. Spencer by the Indians in the Neighborhood of Cincinnati, written by Himself* (New York, 1834 [?]).

and arrived at the Miami Town¹⁰ about 10 o'clock, found the roads very bad. I visited Mrs. Adamhers¹¹ family.

17th. Wrote to Detroit to my brother Meredith & Baby, gave them an account of my jants & this place etc—visited a couple more of the french familys at this place found them very decent & polite—particularly at Mr. Adamhers who gave me a very friendly invitation to their house sans ceremonie.

18th. Wrote Mr. Robertson,¹² with respect to my $\frac{1}{2}$ pay certificates not being able to send them in by Mr. Sharpe¹³ who left this place for Detroit this day—but promised to get them made out the 25th Inst & forward them in by the first opportunity—We have had most delightful weather ever since

¹⁰The site of the modern Fort Wayne, Indiana. According to Capt. John Armstrong, a member of Harmar's army which raided the place in the summer of 1790, there were seven distinct villages in the vicinity of the junction of the St. Mary's and the St. Joseph rivers. One of them was the Miami village, in the fork of the St. Joseph and the Maumee. Here the French traders lived. See H. S. Knapp, *History of the Maumee Valley* (Toledo, 1872), 66.

¹¹Probably the name should be spelled Adhemar. La Balme, who plundered the traders at Miamitown in 1780, lists one "Admer," a merchant, as "a dangerous man." This meant, of course, that according to La Balme's information he was loyal to the British cause. In March, 1779, one Adhemar who had been sent by Hamilton to Miamitown with ten perogues and thirty men to get provisions forwarded from Detroit, was captured by George Rogers Clark. In 1788 St. Martin Adhemar was appointed one of the commissioners of the newly-created District of Hesse. William Robertson, the spokesman of the Detroit traders who memorialized Lord Dorchester against the new act, gave as the objection to Adhemar that he was settled at Vincennes "in the American states." See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XI, 622, 632; Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1909, 132; *Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, 194; for a brief sketch of Adhemar's career, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 159.

¹²Probably William Robertson, a prominent merchant, who settled at Detroit in 1782. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XI, 627 ff; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 272.

¹³George Sharp, also prominent as a trader at Detroit. Robertson describes him as "of liberal education and highly respected." *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XI, 633. Sharp was with Matthew Elliott when the latter ransomed O. M. Spencer at Grand Glaize in 1792. The picture which Spencer draws of him on that occasion is far from flattering. For further facts about Sharp, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 279, 291.

our arrival here. I think upon the whole this is a very pretty place—the River that this town is built upon is called the River St. Joseph which falls into the Miami River very near the town at the S. W. end of it. This day a prisoner was brought in here; Rather a elderly man was taken better than a month ago at a place called the little Miami—the Americans are now making a settlement at that place¹⁴—this man was engaging to work for one John Phillipps, one of the settlers, was out in a field about two miles from his masters, saving fother for the cattle when he was taken—last Spring was the first time they came to it. Lower down the river towards the falls of the Ohio about five miles from this settlement where the Americans are now very busy building redoubts & block Houses ever since last Summer—they have three companies of regular Congress Troops—the number not known¹⁵—Those three companies came from three different places viz:—Capt. Pratt¹⁶ from Fort Pratt, Capt. Strong¹⁷ from Muskingum, the other he does not know his name came from the Fall of Ohio, this place is called Licken¹⁸ after a small river about the width of

¹⁴This was Columbia City, founded in November, 1788, three-fourths of a mile below the mouth of the Little Miami. Its projectors fondly hoped to see it become the metropolis of the surrounding region, and for a year or more their dreams seemed in a fair way of being realized. But the greater natural advantages of the site opposite the mouth of the Licking river destined this point, where Cincinnati was shortly founded, to be the site of the future metropolis. In 1873 Columbia City, still a small town, was annexed as a suburb to its successful rival.

¹⁵The settlement of Cincinnati was begun in the late autumn of 1788. The following summer Fort Washington was constructed at this point by a force of troops sent down the Ohio from Fort Harmar for this purpose.

¹⁶Lieut. John Pratt, enlisted from Pennsylvania.

¹⁷Capt. David Strong, enlisted from New York.

¹⁸The Licking River. Apparently Hay's informant was unfamiliar with the more imposing designation Losantiville given by the Kentucky pedagogue, John Filson, to the infant settlement. This hybrid, compounded for the occasion from Greek, Latin, and French elements, was intended by its compiler to signify "town opposite the mouth of the Licking." In 1790, at the behest of Governor St. Clair, Losantiville gave place to the modern Cincinnati.

this which comes from Kentuck and falls into the Ohio. This place has been commanded lately by one Major Dotty,¹⁹ who is gone up to Muskingum for his health as supposed; the Governor (St. Clair) was expected down in his place for a short time.²⁰ Capt. Strong, he supposed comm'd in the absence of the major until the arrival of the Governor. The full compliment of the subaltern officers of the compy's he thinks were present for their appeared to him to be a great many of them—particularly in Capt. Strong's he thinks he saw at least three of them. He never was w[h]ere the troops are but one Sunday, therefore cannot give a certain account. This man is an Irishman born in the County of Tipperary came to America about Twenty years ago—never served with them or for them, lived the greatest part of the war in Virginia at a place called Fort Quire County²¹ a country place—they had a Court House there—came down to this place (the little Miami) in July last. Last place he came from was Stantown²² Augusta County—in Virginia. Aged about upwards of Forty. lost his father and mother very young. The Indians who took him are Delawares—did not use him ill nor did they took him with that intention, only to learn intelligence of what those People were about; he has his liberty, is to live with us the whole Winter as a servant and in the Spring the Indians have promised to take him safe back. It seems that he would prefer remaining

¹⁹Maj. John Doughty, commander of the force which built Fort Washington. On December 28, 1789, General Harmar, descending the Ohio from Fort Harmar, reached the new fort, and named it Washington "on account of its superior excellence." Fort Washington now became the military headquarters of the Northwest. On being relieved by Harmar, Major Doughty took command of Fort Harmar, which guarded the new settlement of Marietta.

²⁰Governor St. Clair reached Cincinnati on January 2, 1790.

²¹Fauquier County.

²²Staunton.

in this country had be but his cloaths and some money to the amount of Ten Pounds Virginia Money which Mr. Phillipps owes him. He was allowed from him for his work 40/ that currency per month and provisions—Virginia money is the nearest to sterling of any money in this country except Halifax is 6/ to the Dollar. Visited Mrs. Adamher and family this morning—This evening, also visited Mr. Rivarr's²³—Miss Rivarr is a very pretty girl, inclined to be stoute, very fair, black eyes, but rather aukward. un peu a la Paysan.

19th. Froze hard last night. Ice comes down the river But still a very fine day—This day arrived here the *Little Turtle*²⁴ a chief of the Miamiae with his war party consisting of about fifteen or sixteen—they had made two prisoners (a negro and a white man) the negro was left with a few whites at the Little Miami. They rest went out looking for more, they left their baggage & four Horses—during which time the Americans came on them, retook the negro, plundered the baggage, horses &c. The Indians made off & joined the others. Went and paid a visit this afternoon to Mrs. Adamher—drank Coffee

²³The papers captured from La Balme upon the destruction of his force near Miamitown in 1780, contained a list of the French inhabitants of the place, including one Rivard. Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1909, 132. Rivard is also mentioned in a letter from Detroit to David Gray at Miamitown, March 23, 1785. *Indiana Mag. of Hist.* V, 142, 143.

²⁴Little Turtle was born on Eel River in 1752, and died at Fort Wayne in 1812. One of the ablest leaders the red race has produced, he was an inveterate foe of the Americans until the Treaty of Greenville, of 1795. He bore a leading part in the negotiations over the treaty, contending stoutly for the interests of his race. Convinced of the hopelessness of further resistance he pledged a religious observance of the treaty. Until his death, eighteen years later, this promise was kept, and Little Turtle was a firm friend of the whites. His greatest military exploit was the destruction of St. Clair's army in 1791 by the warriors under his command. He opposed making a fight against Wayne in 1794, and consequently the leadership of the red men in the battle of Fallen Timbers passed to his kinsman, Blue Jacket.

with her. She showed me a further mark of her Politeness & attention, by telling me as it was very difficult to get cloaths & Linnen washed at this place, begged I would send her mine that her Ponnice wench should wash them.²⁵

20th. Little rain & snow last night which has made it very slippery. Rather a darking day. Saw this day the Rifle Horn & Pouche Bagg belonging to the American that was murdered by the Indians. It seems that he was rather an elderly man & very tall—had some money both Silver & Paper of Virginia. I find that this man was immediately killed after he was taken by one of the party who struck him twice or thrice in the back an side, in consequence he said of having some of his own relations killed lately. This is their way of retaliating; the young fellow that had taken him offered to hinder the other, but could not he was in too great a passion.

Paid a visit this morning to one Mr. Payetts²⁶ family, think nothing of Miss—She's very brown.

Passed an agreeable afternoon & evening at Mrs. Adamhers in company with Mrs. & Miss Rivare & Mrs. Ranjard; I played the flute and sang. Mr. Kinzie²⁷ the fiddle, & all the ladies except two sang also, Mrs. Ranjard has a fine voice. We drank tea & coffee about ½ past 4 o'clock & a light supper

²⁵A pani (panis, pawnee, paunee, etc.) was a slave of the Indian race. This designation was due to the fact that most of the Indian slaves belonging to the Algonquian and other Indians of the Great Lakes and the Middle West were procured from the Pawnee tribe. *Handbook of American Indians*.

²⁶Possibly the same person who La Balme's list of the inhabitants of Miami-town in 1780 designates as Paillet.

²⁷This was John Kinzie who has acquired posthumous fame as the reputed "father" of Chicago. For a sketch of his career, see M. M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest* (Chicago, 1913), 145-52. When Harmar's force destroyed Miami-town the summer following Hay's sojourn there, Kinzie apparently retired, with others of the traders to Grand Glaize. The captive, Spencer, speaks of his house here in 1792, and describes Kinzie as "a Scot, who, in addition to merchandizing, followed the occupation of a silversmith, exchanging with the

about 9 o'clock and then broke up. The French settlers of this place go to prayers of a Sunday, morning & evening, at one Mr. Barthelmis²⁸ which is performed by Mr. Payee; the people are collected by the Ringing of three cow bells, which three boys runs about with thro' the village, which makes as much noise as twenty cows would. I went this afternoon to their prayers it being Sunday. A little snow this evening.

I forgot to mention the 19th inst. that on the arrival of the warriors the other side of the river, the Gree³⁰ ordered a Pirogue (which happened to be just arrived from the forks of the river with wood) to be unloaded by some of the french lads who stood on the bank, and sent one of them over with it: on their arrival he Billeted them like Soldiers so many in each House according to the bigness of it, and took care to trouble the families as little as possible—we had six;—This he

Indian his brooches, ear-drops, and other silver ornaments, at an enormous profit, for skins and furs." Spencer, *op. cit.*, 30. Kinzie later established himself at Parc aux Vaches on the St. Joseph River, near the forks of the Chicago-Detroit and the Chicago-Fort Wayne Indian trails. In the spring of 1804 he removed to Chicago, where Fort Dearborn had been constructed the previous summer. Except for the four years from 1812 to 1816, this was his home until his death in 1828.

²⁸One of the oldest inhabitants of Miamitown. His name is included in the "census" of Indiana of 1769, and also in La Balme's list of the inhabitants of Miamitown in 1780. See Illinois State Historical Society, *Trans.*, 1909, 132; Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, II, 439, 440.

²⁹Probably the priest, Louis Payet, who was born at Montreal in 1749, and came to Detroit in 1781. He made trips to the missions at Vincennes, Cahokia, and other outlying points. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 493.

³⁰Le Gris was the French nick-name of the Miami chief Na-ka-kwan-ga, or Crippled Ankles. The name appears as Nah-goh-quan-goh in the treaty of Greenville, and Naquakouande in a speech of 1773. (*Mich. Pion. Colls.*, Vol. 19, p. 310). Antoine Gamelin, who visited Miamitown in April, 1790, on an embassy for the Americans, speaks of him as "the great chief of the Miamis." *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1832-61), I, 94. His importance among the Miami is sufficiently evident from the following pages. He was prominent in the warfare with the Americans which closed with Wayne's victory of Fallen Timbers, and in the negotiation of the Treaty of Greenville the following year.

ordered in a very polite manner, but quite like a general or a commandant.

21st. Monday. The weather rather mild and foggy—much inclined towards rain. This morning Mr. Leith told me the Gree was going off immediately after breakfast with his people a hunting—& that this hunt was to bring in meat for me, and that consequently I should be under the necessity of giving him a small two gallon keg—which I did; as rum is very dear at this place no less than 40/ a gallon. I borrowed it to be returned at Detroit. The reason I gave them the rum now is, that they may not drink it about the village; it being against Major Murray's³¹ positive orders to give Indians rum at this place or sell &c., And as I'm for supporting those orders as much as lay in my little power was my particular reason for giving it to them at present; for they no doubt will not expect anymore—If they do I must say they shall not get it from me,—not only to prevent quarrels which might happen in the village if they got drunk and also supporting the Major's orders, but its an expense to myself which I shall not be able to support. Capt. Johnny Shawnee Chief³² arrived yesterday morning; from his village according to the message we sent him by an Indian woman which we met on our way here, the day before we arrived. The Gree introduced me yesterday to his Son, my brother and old play fellow as he called him. And this morning when a[t] breakfast after I had given him the rum, he & his wife both directed me to look at my brother what a dirty fellow he was.—He also introduced me to his grand

³¹Major Patrick Murray, Sixtieth Regiment, British commander at Detroit at this time.

³²Captain Johnny was a Shawnee chief of some importance. A number of his speeches are preserved in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XX, 385, 519; XXIV, 597, 598; XXV, 242-44, 690-92.

daughter who had formerly made me some small Indian Present, which I had repaid with rings—his own and only daughter died some years ago, whom he said had been my very great friend.

I was shown this morning the Heart of the white Prisoner I mentioned the Indians had killed some time ago in the Indian Country—it was quite drye, like a piece of dryed venison. with a small stick run from one end of it to the other & fastened behind the fellows bundle that killed him, with also his Scalp.

Another party of the Miamies and one Shawanie came in from war This day with one scalp the[y] danced over the River, one with a stick in his hand & scalp flying; it being their custom.—Some of the warriors came over in the evening, to our House. It was rather a dirty morning; it thawed very much; we had a little rain—however it turned out a pretty clear afternoon.

22nd. *Tuesday*. Very fine beautiful morning. Froze very hard visited Mrs. Adamher this afternoon

23 *Wednesday*. Very fine morning more like Spring than fall weather, grass quite green—not the least frost last night—I never observed 'till this morning that a Man may easily walk over this River it being very shallow, Very few Indians here at present—most of them are gone a hunting. There are two Villages at this place one on this side the River & one on the other—the former belongs to the Gree—the other to Pacan³³ who's now in Illinois, but in his absence is Commanded by his

³³Pacan was for many years head chief of the Miami. As a young man, in 1764, he rescued Captain Thomas Morris from impending torture at Miami-town. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 366, 367; Thomas Morris, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (London, 1791), 22, 23. For a stirring speech of Pacan's in behalf of the English, in 1781, see *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 595, 596. To a speech to Sir Wm. Johnson, in 1773, is attached the name "Pakane Junr.," who is probably the man who signed the Miami Treaty of 1809.

nephew one Mr. Jean Baptist Richerville, son to one Mr. Richerville of *Three Rivers* in Cannada by an Indian woman—This young man is a Trader here—his Father has wrote for him to go to him which he means [to do] next Spring. His mother is now gone into the Indian Country (*dans les Terre as the french term it*) to trade; She lives with him when she's here—the young man is so very bashful that he never speaks in council, his mother who is very clever is obliged to do it for him.³⁴

This evening the Gree's Brother arrived from his hunting Ground—his name is the *Deer*. He formerly was great Chief of this Village but chose to give it up to his Brother—he's very clever—his Brother never does anything without consulting him.—Capt. Johnny left this place this morning for his Village.

24th. *Thursday*. Very fine day—but cold—froze hard last night. Several Potewatomies arrived here this afternoon with skins, meat &c. Visited Mrs. Adamher was pleased to desire I should send her any linnen or any thing else that I may want to mend. She asked me to go with her to the midnight mass—and also asked me if I would play the flute which I did. Mr. Kinzie & myself went to Mrs. Adamhers about 11 o'clock—he brought his fiddle with him—we found a french man there who played with us.

25th. Came home this morning about two o'clock from mass; Mr. Kinzie & myself called first at Mrs. Adamhers on

³⁴Richardville, or 'Peshewah' (Pin-ji-wa—The Wildcat) was born near Miamitown about the year 1761, and died at Fort Wayne in August, 1841. His later career indicates that he bravely overcame the bashfulness of which Hay speaks. From the death of Little Turtle in 1812 until his own death in 1841, Richardville was head chief of the Miami. At the time of his death he was accounted the richest Indian in North America, his wealth being estimated at half a million to a million dollars. See *Handbook of American Indians*; Knapp, *History of Maumee Valley*, 361-64.

our return home, who gave us some venison stake and roasted rackoon—Played the flute & Kinzie the fiddle with the french man this Morning at Mass; being a particular desire of the Peoples. We left our instruments at the House w[h]ere prayer is said. I cannot say much indeed for the Trade of this Place their's but few skins comes in, and almost every individual (except the engagés) is an Indian trader, everyone tries to get what he can either by fowle play or otherwise—that is by traducing one another's characters and merchandise. For instance by saying such a one has no Blankets another no strowde or is damned bad or he'll cheat you & so on—in short I cannot term it in a better manner than calling it a Rascally Scrambling Trade &c &c.

Somehow or other I lost a Silk Pocket Handkerchief this morning coming home—which I never expect to see—and my Brother Johnnys³⁵ fine travelling knife stole last night, which I also give for lost.

Very hard frost last night, a great deal of ice floating down the river this morning, there was also a small *Boredage* indeed one place so wide and strong that several boys were sliding upon it, however its not extraordinary quite the contrary—for the fine weather we have had here ever since our arrival & which still continues is very much so & what I have never yet seen in this Country—however at this moment (1 o'clock) it has much the appearance of Snow which is much wanted for the Indians hunts—for deer and rakoon.

Play again this afternoon at Vespars.

³⁵John Hay became later a prominent citizen of Cahokia, Illinois. R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1889), 130.

26th. Got infernally drunk last night with Mr. Abbott³⁶ and Mr. Kinzie—Mr. A.—gave me his daughter Betsy over the bottle. Damnation sick this morning in consequence of last night's debashe—eat no breakfast—Kinzie & myself went to mass and played as usual.—Mrs. Ranjard gave us a cup of coffee before mass to settle our heads.

Very little frost last night—a very mild day—but rainy and disagreeable—and muddy in the bargain—very little ice floating this morning.

Mrs. Grie having made us a present of a very large Turkey Cock weighing about 30 pounds, we proposed having a Dinner among us Englishmen here.

Mr. Abbott fetched some Maderia & Mr. Kinze a Piece of fine newly corned pork—upon which we made a most excellent dinner at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'clock after Kinzie & I had played at Vespers as usual—

After K— and I went to see Miss Rivarre & found the miss Adamhers there, the old people were out of the way.

George Girty³⁷ arrived here this day from his wintering

³⁶James Abbott was born in Dublin in 1725. On coming to America he first settled in Albany, removing to Detroit about the year 1763. He engaged extensively in the fur trade, conducting operations at Mackinac, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, Fort Wayne, Ouiatanon, and Vincennes. He was the father of Robert and James Abbott, leading citizens of Detroit in the first half of the nineteenth century, and of Samuel Abbott of Mackinac. James Abbott Jr. married Sarah Whistler at Fort Dearborn in the spring of 1804, thus furnishing the first recorded marriage at Chicago. Elizabeth Abbott, the "daughter Betsey" of the diarist, was born at Detroit in 1777, married James Baby, and died at Sandwich in 1812. See P. Casgrain, *Memorial des Families Casgrain, Baby et Perrault du Canada* (Quebec, 1898), app. G.

³⁷George Girty was the younger of three brothers—Simon, James, and George—who for a full generation were objects of loathing and terror along the American frontier. Natives of Pennsylvania, the brothers were captured, along with the other members of the family, by an Indian raiding party in the summer of 1756. Reared by the Indians, George Girty married among them, and became practically an Indian himself. He died near Fort Wayne, Indiana, shortly before the outbreak of the War of 1812. See C. W. Butterfield, *History of the Girtys* (Cincinnati, 1890).

ground which is only four miles from here—its called the Delaware Town—he desired I should write in to Capt. McKee³⁸ by the first opportunity to acquaint him that in consequence of the Miami Indians upbraiding the Delawares with telling them that the Ground they occupied now is not theirs and that upon which the Delawares answered, they were great fools to fight for lands that was not theirs and consequently would not go to war against the Americans any more; but that they will for a certainty leave the Country and go down to the Spaniards and put themselves under the protection of that Government. That he had already sent word in some time ago that they were talking of going which he hardly believed at that time—but at present can safely say that there is not the least doubt of it.—Begs at same time that Capt. McKee may not make mention that this Intelligence came thro' him—and that if Capt. McKee would Immediately send in a String of wampum to hinder them from taking such a step it would no doubt immediately stop them. Turned out a pretty good afternoon.

27th. Sunday. Kinzie & myself were invited to sup with a Mr. Barthelmie (the man of the house w[h]ere prayer is said) last night, with Mr. and Mrs. Adamher—Mr. de Sanlaren³⁹ a french gentleman a Trader at this place who formerly

³⁸Alexander McKee, like the Girtys, was a native of Pennsylvania, who sided with the British in the Revolutionary War. He became an agent in the British Indian Department, where his influence over the natives, which he employe'd to incite them against the Americans, made his name one of sinister omen to the frontiersmen until the close of the Indian wars in 1795. For a sketch of McKee, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 434.

³⁹Probably Céloron, one of the sons of Pierre Joseph Céloron, formerly commandant at Detroit. During the Hamilton-Clark campaign on the Wabash, Céloron was sent by Hamilton to take command at Ouiatanon, a short distance below the modern Lafayette, Indiana. Clark sent a detachment to capture him, whereupon Céloron beat a hasty retreat up the Wabash. He met Hamilton's army at the mouth of the Maumee, en route to capture Vincennes; Céloron here so conducted himself that Hamilton later charged him with treachery. See Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1912), 281; *Illinois Historical Collections*, VII, 130, 179.

was an Officer in the french Service before the taking of Canada &c. &c. and Mr. Baptist Lassell—we had a roasted Turkey and to my great surprise and indeed every one else we had a roasted Loine of Veal—a kind of wilde sallad which they have here all winter on the other side of the River which was very good & also some very [good] cocombers pickels cheese &c. Grogg the only drink.—everything served up in the french Stile—The miss Adamhers came and joined us after supper from Mr. Rivarres. Gentlemen & Ladies every one sung a song—after which I proposed walking a minuet with Mrs. Adamher which was accepted of & followed by a Smart Gigg Kinzie the fiddler. Then K. & Miss Adamher relieved us & play the Piper & So on—until about 11 or 12 o'clock when it was proposed on cachét, by Mrs. Adamher to give Kinzie a *bouquet* as it was the Eve of St. John—his name being *John* which was done in the French Stile—a man was posted at the door with a loaded gun ready to fire when ordered.—Mr. Adamher carried the bouquet on a plate which was made in this manner viz: A large cake with a stick in the center and some blue ribbon tied about it and three charges of powder and ball on the plate also. I proceeded in front of Mr. Adamher playing the freemasons March (Come let us prepare) Mr. K. being a freemason & just as Mr. Ad—delivered him the bouquet with the Common compliment upon such an occasion, I immediately stepped forward opened the door and gave the word fire which was done, I then took the three charges of Powder & Ball of[f] the Plate and thro' them into the fire successively, which made three very good explosions—Kinzie got very drunk and so did every one except myself—K. was obliged to sleep at Mr. Adamhers—was too drunk to go any further—so much for last nights business.

Rained all last night and continued so to do—a very great fogg this morning—the weather very mild, in short the most unaccountable weather I have ever yet experienced at this time of the year—if it continues the Fur Trade will be very bad this year and no doubt its impossible for the Indians to hunt in this kind of weather; they may get a few Rackoon, Otter & beaver with Traps. They only kill a few deer & Bears in this wett weather particularly Bears—but not equal to as when the snow is on the ground.

Played as usual at mass. Kinzie told me this morning that Mr. Abbott requested that I should dine with him to-day.—which we did and had a good Tea Pye & a drink of Grogg.

28th. *Monday*. Last night I supped sans ceremonie at Mr. Rivarrs about 5 o'clock.—After which we repaired to Mr. Adamhers, and from that went according to appointment at Mr. de Selerons were we danced 'till about 11 o'clock—it being St. John's day & Mr. de S—a freemason, a bouquet was presented to him—upon which he and Mr. Adamher got damned drunk.—Visited the ladies this morning, also Mr. de S. who I found drinking with Adamher and some others—did not stay long as they wished me to drink at so unseasonable an hour as 11 o'clock in the morning—but promised to joine the Corum in the afternoon.

Made out my Half-Pay certificate this day—was sworn by Mr. Leith—Mr. Ironside⁴⁰ made out the Bills of Exchange for me; So that every thing is now ready to send to Mr. Robertson

⁴⁰George Ironside, at this time a leading trader of the Maumee Valley, was born in 1760, and died at Amherstburg in 1830. For many years he was in the British Indian service. He was an M. A. of King's College, Aberdeen. In 1792 he had a house at Grand Glaize. O. H. Spencer, whom Ironside befriended during the former's captivity there, speaks highly of his humanity and hospitality. See Spencer, *op. cit.*; *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XVI, 737.

at Detroit by the first opportunity. [Page missing.] time; but having eat a good dinner upon a young wild Turkey with a couple of glasses of Port Wine, drove it off immediately. This evening about five the Gree & his Brother in Law, the Little Turtle arrived from their wintering Place; they drank tea, also maderia Grie who came in after them and who presented us with a couple of Turkeys—The Grie told me his young men would be in in a few days, that they came first to inform us of it.—It being near the New Year, and a common custom among them to flock in about that time from their wintering places, to Salute, and of course expect some little matter.

30th. *Wednesday*. Bad cough all night—the same today—Little or no frost last night—Very mild day—but cloudy and Dark—very muddy &c.—

The Grie & Turtle visited us this morning.—Began to raine about 2 o'clock this afternoon and continued 'till near 10 or 11 o'clock.

31st. *Thursday*. Little Snow this morning, and rather cold—Very little or no frost.—The Grie and Turtle Breakfasted with us this morning.—The sun begins to Peep, all the appearance of a fine day.—The day did not turn out as I expected—it got cloudy about 1 o'clock & a little Snow.—Cold. Began to freeze about 4 o'clock this afternoon

1 January 1790 *Friday*—

Most Beautiful Sun Shiny day—Froze hard last night. High wind & pretty cold &c &c.

It being New Year the Indians who are in great number, more so indeed than I could ever have thought, also the Woman—came into the house in great numbers by three o'clock this morning which prevented Ironside & me from Sleeping—one lady came to shake hands with me when in bed.—The

House was quite full at Breakfast time—The Grie & Turtle came to visit us & breakfasted with us as usual.

I forgot to mention that last night about 5 o'clock I was sent for by the Grie with Mr. Ironside. When I went to him, he informed me that his Son my Brother as he calls him, had sent me in something to eat, which was a Carcass of Venison & four or five Turkeys which he begged I would accept—His Son could not come in on account of his rather young child being unwell.

The Grie asked me this morning for a bottle of Rum, I was rather loath at first to give it him, but having informed me it was only for the reception of myself or any few friends that might come to see him—as he has always been accustomed to it, I told him that in case he should have it, and that I expected he would not make a bad use of it—He answered that he had more respect for the recommendation I had brought him from Major Murray than to do any thing of the kind—for says he who's to protect you from any insults that might be offered to you by any hot headed Indian but myself—and should I get drunk—I know myself not capable of it.

Visited most of the Principal families of this place this morning & kissed all the Ladies young and Old—The Grie did not keep his promise with me—he was rather drunk towards the evening.

2nd. Jany. *Saturday*. Danced last night at Mr. Adamhers—no other strangers but madam Ranjard & Kinzie & myself—During the time we were dancing a french man arrived from Marie Louisas^{40½} Trading Place about 25 Leagues from here—

^{40½}Marie Louisa was the baptismal name of the youngest sister of The Little Turtle. Her Indian name was Ta-kum-wa, or The Parrakeet. Ta-kum-wa literally, as the Shawnee Tecumtha, means going across, or crossing over. The parrakeet was very common in Indiana at that time, and the Miamis evidently gave it this name on account of its parrot beak.

this M. Louisas is mother to yo[u]n[g] J. Baptist Richerville mentioned in my Journal some days ago. He brought word that Mr. Antoine Lassell (who is traveling at a place called le Petit Piconne⁴¹ Six Leagues from the Ouias)⁴² is made Prisoner by the Ouias Indians—supposed for having wrote a letter some time ago to Fort Vincennes apprehending them of a Party of Indians that intended to strike there—that this Party was in consequence of it taken Prisoner by the Americans at a Post⁴³—that Lassell had also mentioned that one of the Party

⁴¹Antoine Lasselle had been a resident of Miamitown for nineteen years at the time this journal was written. When General Harmar destroyed the place the following October, Lasselle followed Little Turtle's band to the new Miami village on the Little Glaze. He was an active partisan of the British-Indian cause, and served, garbed as an Indian, in Captain Caldwell's company of Canadian militia which fought against Wayne at Fallen Timbers. Too corpulent to keep pace with his dusky allies in their rapid retreat before the points of Wayne's bayonets, Lasselle concealed himself under a log, thinking to make his escape after nightfall. He was discovered, however, and promptly tried as a spy. The story is told that, finding the trial going against him, he gave the Masonic signal of distress, whereupon Colonel Hamtranck, president of the court-martial, threw his influence in his favor, resulting in a verdict of acquittal. Whatever the truth as to this may be, Lasselle, together with his brother Jacques, shortly afterward secretly entered Wayne's employ, and labored zealously to bring the Indians to conclude a treaty of peace with the Americans. See J. P. Dunn, *Indiana* (Boston, 1888), 436—40; W. A. Brice, *History of Fort Wayne* (Fort Wayne, 1868), app. 16, 17; *Amer. St. Papers, Ind. Affs.*, I, 494.

⁴²Petit Piconne is an unique corruption of Ki-ta-pi-nong, meaning the town at the mouth of the Tippecanoe (Ki-ta-pi-ka-na) river. This is the name of the buffalo fish. At this time there was an important Indian village here, where resided a number of French traders. The Ouias was a village in the vicinity of the old French post Ouiatanon, near the site of Lafayette, Indiana, Ouiatanon was founded by the French after 1722; there had been no garrison here since Pontiac's War, but it was still an important center of the Indian trade. These places were raided by an American army under Gen. Charles Scott in June, 1791, and again in August, by a force commanded by Gen. James Wilkinson. See *Amer. St. Papers, Ind. Affs.*, I, 131—33; "Ouiatanon," in *Indiana Historical Society, Publications*, II, 319—48.

⁴³Vincennes. The post which the French established here in the first half of the seventeenth century was designated "poste au Ouabache," or, more commonly, simply "au poste." The early American settlers transformed this into "the Post" or "Opost."

was Son to the Indian who burnt an American Prisoner at the Ouias last Summer.—The Indians having understood that the Americans meant to Burn this Indian, is the reason they have fallen upon Lassell and mean to burn him—his men are also prisoners—they will of course plunder him &c.—I'm sorry for it and so is every one at this place—tho' he certainly has brought [it] upon himself—

This morning after Breakfast—Mr. Adamher Mr. Leith & myself with all the Principal traders of the place collected ourselves in this house and met the Grie which was sent for for that Purpose—After he was made acquainted with the matter and his Advice asked—he answered that he was extremely sorry to hear such news, and that he had always given his advice to the people here how they should act when they went into the Interior Parts of the Indian Country—but that the french had frequently gone without letting him know or asking his advice; And that particularly Mr. Lassell who altho' he had advised not to go to that part of the country did absolutely go without acquainting him of it—for says he, had he mentioned it to me I should have sent one of my Chiefs with him, or given him a belt, as a Guard and which would have prevented any thing of this kind happening—However says [he] no time is to be lost as I am now immediately going off to my wintering Camp I shall detach three faithful warriors of mine with a belt from me to inquire into this matter which if true will effectually put a stop to it—(*if it has not already taken place.*)

Mr. Dufresne a french trader who is concerned in that part of the Country—gave him about two fathoms of Smoking Tobacco—Virmillion Provisions &c—Mr. A. Lassell has all

his goods from Mr. Baby⁴⁴ which concerns me much on his account if any thing should happen.—As Mr. Kinzie means to go to Detroit on Monday next I wrote this day to the Major with respect to this affair—and to Capt. McKee with regard to the Delewares.—

Beautiful Day—froze hard last night—Wrote Mr. Robertson of Detroit this day inclosed him my bills of Exchange and certificates for my $\frac{1}{2}$ pay Wrote my brother also.

3 *January Sunday.* The Grie & Little Turtle went off on horse back for their wintering Camps, after breakfasting with & thanking us for the reception they received from us during their stay—I gave them a bottle of Rum. For it must be observed that they have nothing here to live upon—everything they possess & have is in the woods; they all come in in the Spring to the amount of four or five hundred—

Began to raine a little this Evening—Not the least frost last night—Thaughed all day.

4 *Jany. Monday.* Mr. Kinzie went off for Detroit at day break this morning. Raine all last night, which turned into Snow towards morning.—Very disagreeable dirty day—the Snow & Raine which we had last night has created a great quantity of mudd—wind a little high and sky Cloudy.—Danced and Supped at Mr. Adamhers, sans ceremonie as usual last

⁴⁴The Baby family had long been prominent in Detroit and Canada. The founder of the Detroit branch of the family was Duperron Baby, who was born at Montreal in 1731 and came to Detroit twenty years later. In 1760 he married Susanne Reaume. He was the father of no less than twenty-two children, several of whom achieved prominence. A natural daughter by an Indian mother married the chief, Blue Jacket, who figures in Hay's journal. The eldest son, James Baby, married, as we have already seen, Elizabeth Abbott. Another son, Francis, married Elizabeth Abbott's sister, Frances. Duperron Baby died at Detroit in 1789. Whether Hay's allusion is to him or to one of his sons must be left to conjecture. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XV, 704-6; Casgrain, *op. cit.*, app. G; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on Upper Ohio*, 44.

night.—Little Snow this afternoon—Last night while we were dancing at Mr. Adamhers his Pigg was stolen out of the Penn.—this is the 3d he has lost in the like manner the last one before this was stolen on the very same day last year.—However this one turned out to be a good story which is as follows—Mr. De Seleron & two or three french men & Mrs. Ranjard were in the secret—it was Seleron & two others who took him away—Mr. Leith as a Justice of the Peace having every reason to suspect White People as well as myself, gave me a search warrant thro the Village attended by Mr. Ironside & one La Chambre a french man, we had almost gone thro' the whole, when we came to Mr. De Selerons were we found Mr. Adamher & the people who had taken, they were telling him the story when we entered the House to Search.—we were immediately made acquainted with it—but stile continued our search to the other house we had not been at, keeping the secret, we even went to Mrs. Adamhers—own house & found the Poor woman very much affected at it, it being their only support when the fresh meat is killed, and what hurt her more was, that she intended to kill it tomorrow, and that the like had happened to her last year—however about an hour after she was very agreeably made acquainted with the joke and I never in my life saw such in a womans countenance when they told her of it—Mrs. Adamher is a woman who is amasingly fond of playing her jokes upon other people, she's always serving some one or other a trick; for which they were fully determined to play her this one, which we premeditated upwards of three weeks ago.

After I had made my report to Leith—Ironside & myself undeceived him about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after at which he laughed very much. Its a good joke and it will at the same time put

those people on their guards who are apt or may intend to make robberies.

5th. *January Tuesday.* Very fine day, but cold, the weather quite changed.—Began to freeze very hard about 2 or 3 o'clock this morning.—Ironsides & myself having mentioned last night that it would be a good thing to steal the Hogg back again from those that stole it which they heard; and mounted a Guard over him one of the party actually slept in the Penn with it—

This day about 2 o'clock arrived here one Tramblai from the Ouias—He left Mr. Ant. Lassell very well at the Little Piconno the 29th December, and contradicts everything that we heard the 1st. Inst. with respect to that Gentleman, so far from it, that Mr. Lassell writes Mr. Adamher by this Tramblai that he never Traded better nor easier, that the Indians are perfectly quiet in that part of the Country—Such a Damnable lying Report, I never experienced before in my life,—because in general, altho' Indian Reports are never to be believed, there is always something similar to what is reported—but in this affair not even a single quarrell happened—The Grie seemed to put but very little confidence in it—I believe the french People here mean to send an express immediately to prevent this message being sent.

6th. *January. Wednesday.* Froze hard last night—& very cold all night. Turned out quite mild about 10 o'clock and began to snow very hard.—all appearance that the winter is now setting in.—am much afraid Kinzie will not get to Detroit by water.—After snowing about a couple of hours pretty smartly—it began to raine & continued 'till 10 o'clock this Evening.

7th. *January Thursday.* It began to blow amasingly hard

last night about 11 o'clock & froze very hard.—Very cold windy day—a great deal of Ice floating down the River.—This afternoon about 3 o'clock arrived the Indian sent to apprise the Grie respecting Lassell's affairs—they were just going to set out when he arrived their. He presented the Grie with a Carrott of Tobacco, telling him—here's what your Brother, the french sends you & desires me acquaint you with the good news they have received, & that you need not trouble yourself with sending your message.

The three Indians pitched upon by the Grie—were *The Little Turtle*, *The Little Turkey* & *Le Jollie*.

8th. Jan'y. *Friday*. Very fine Sun Shiny day—Pretty Cold.—a great quantity of Ice floating down the River—Froze hard last night.—Invited all the principal people of this place to play cards with me this Evening.

9th. Jan'y. *Saturday*. This is the coldest day we have had since my arrival. But very fine over head—Wind began to blow excessively hard about day break & continues so to do. I scated for the first time yesterday upon a marrai about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile at the back of the village—this marrai falls into a creek which goes by the name of *le Rouisso de Rioll*. which falls into the Miami—This creek takes its name from a Frenchman who once had a hutt close by it.

Supped this Evening at Mr. Dufrennes in company with some of the Principal French of this Place & then we all went and played cards with Mr. Abbott.

10th. Jany. *Sunday*. A most excessive cold day, quite severe—but very fine over head.—River closed some time in the night—Indians walked across this morning—Turned quite milde this afternoon. Dined with Mr. Abbott, Leith also, Mr. Ironside being unwell could not go. We were joined in the

afternoon by Miss Adamher, Rivarre, De Seleron & Lassell; we drank six Bottles of wine; the two first Gentlemen preferred drinking Grogg. It must be observed at same time that we three had already drank four bottles before any of the wine drinkers came in.—We were all pretty merry.—It began to Snow about 9 or 10 o'clock this Evening.

11 *January Monday.* A great quantity of suow fell this last night and still continues to fall.—Its very mild at the same time. Turned out fine weather about 4 o'clock this Evening.

12 *January Tuesday.* Froze hard this morning about day break—Turned out a very fine Sun Shiny Day—Tramblai returned this day to Little Piconno.—This day the roofe of the House got on fire—lucky it was not in the night or we should all been burnt.

13th. Yesterday about 2 o'clock arrived here Mr. Antoine Lassell accompanied by a french man & one Blue Jackett⁴⁵ a Shawanie Chiefe. He is come in consequence of the report spread about him, which we received the 1st. Instant.—He was made acquainted of it by the following Letter which he received the night before he came off viz.

⁴⁵Blue Jacket, an influential Shawnee chief, was born about the middle of the eighteenth century. After Little Turtle, he was probably the most prominent leader of the Indians in the destruction of St. Clair's army in November, 1791. Since Little Turtle counseled peace when Wayne appeared on the Maumee three years later, the chief command in the battle of Fallen Timbers fell to Blue Jacket. Defeated, he yielded to the Americans and was one of the signers of the Treaty of Greenville the following year. According to the *Handbook of American Indians* he disappears from sight after signing the treaty at Fort Industry, 1805. Other accounts represent him as again raising the hatchet against the Americans in 1812, and as present at the River Raisin massacre, January 22, 1813. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XV, 6292, 693; Casgrain, *op. cit.*, 100.

From La Riveere a Languielle⁴⁶

6th. January.

1790.

My Dear Friend

Yesterday Evening arrived here two Indians sent by the Grie to the Ouia to desire the Indians of that place to take you Prisoner and take you to the Miami Town, saying that you had writ a bad letter respecting them to the Americans.—It seems its one La Lache a Uuia Indian (*half blooded*) who has reported this against you among the Ouia's and other wintering Camps; That the Soldier⁴⁷ & The Porcupine two Chiefs of Riviere a Languille have sent the messengers back to the Grie, saying that they would inform themselves of the matter—that as far as this they had not heard anything of the matter but thro La Lache who is a great Rascall—The messengers did not intend to stop here, but having a letter from Young Mr. Coco Lassell from Mr. Dufrense was their Reason for stopping—This letter was apprising young Coco of such a report being here which Mr. Dufrense sent by a Ponnie lad who I suppose mett with these people & gave it to them, which is a lucky circumstance for you.—The Soldiar & the Porcupine desired me to write you immediately in case some rascalls w[h]ere you are might hear of it and use you ill.—They desire me at the same time to tell you to write to the Grie or to make the *Petite Face* or any of the Principal Indians acquainted

⁴⁶Eel River. Logansport, Indiana, is situated at its junction with the Wabash. The Indian town was strung out along Eel River for several miles above its mouth.

⁴⁷"The Soldier" is the literal translation of Ci-man-ka-nis-si-a, who was chief of the Eel Rivers. The name is made Sha-me-kun-ne-sa in the Treaty of Greenville.

with it and desire them to send by you Strings of Wampum to the Grie to undeceive him of this matter.

I am &c.,
Jacque Godfroy.⁴⁸

Mr. Lassell could not bring any Strings with him from little Piconno because the Chiefs were not at home, but he stopped at La Riverire a Lanjerielle^{48½} from which place he has brought a string accompanied with a paper mentioning the meaning of it—from the Soldiar & The Porcupine to the Grie. But he has brought with him the following certificate, signed by all the french Traders, and Indians then present at the Little Piconno, viz—

We citizens of the little Piconno certify that the bearer Antoine Lassell is a good loyalist and is always for supporting his *King*.

	his	
	Diaum X Payette	
	mark	Lamoureux
X his		
Jean Cannehous	his	
mark	Etienne X Pantonne	Henri Rainbeare
	mark	
Jacque X Dumay		his
his mark		Toop X Maisonville
		mark

⁴⁸Probably Jacques Godfroy Sr. He figured in the events attending Pontiac's siege of Detroit in 1763, and the following year saved the life of Capt. Thomas Morris. He was at Miamitown when Harmar fell upon it in October, 1790, and carried to Detroit an account of the ensuing battles. The following spring his goods, to the value of £500 were destroyed by the American army that raided the Wea villages. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 283—85; XXIV, 106, 107, 166, 273; XXXVII, 448, 453; Thomas Morris, *op. cit.*

^{48½}Lanjerielle is an evident miscopy of L'Anguille, the French name of Eel River.

his
Lamoureux X fils
mark

his
Piere X Clairmont
mark

his
Jean X Coustan
mark

his
(Little X Egg)
mark
(Ouia Indian)

his
(The X Sirropp)
mark
(Peria Indian)

The Two considerable Indians of the little Piconno for the Present.

The following is what the two above Indians say to the Grie—

The Grie.

We are much surprised that you harken to the Doggs of the Villages, and if the above news were True we should send you sensible men to acquaint you. Its La Lache who is a bad Indian & a Runner from one Village to another—He does not belong to our village—we beg you will not believe those bad Birds, who goes from one village to another creating very bad things & disturbances—as the Little Face, Chief of this village of the little Picanno is not here ; he gave us power to act in his absence.

A True Copy taken by me this 13th day of January 1790.

Henry Hay.

Very fine warm day, Rather inclined to raine—

This day Mr. Lassell sent of[f] a messenger to the Grie desiring his presence at this place immediately. This has been a very curious matter altogether—However Mr. Leith and myself are of opinion that one Persons name has been taken for the other. There is one Fouché a french man, who has no doubt acted exactly in this manner as Mr. Lassell was Represented to us to have acted, on the 1st. Instance. Mr. Lassell nor does any of us believe that The Grie had anything to do with it, quite the contrarie, we are of opinion its some other Indians who has an antipathy against Mr. Lassell & who changed the name of Fouché to his, purposely to hurt him, and that those Indians made use of the Gries name in hopes of carrying on the matter to their wish.

A great thaugh this day—

14th. *Thursday.* Very fine day—a little frost last night; In consequence of the great thaugh we had yesterday the snow has melted off the Ice & the Water coming over it froze so hard last night, that it afforded me the pleasure of Skating upon the River this morning—Turned out a very warm beautiful day—Thaw's a good deal and I'm afraide will carry off the Ice.—Wrote the Major⁴⁹ this day an account of Mr. Lassells arrival at this place and every thing respecting his affairs as mentioned in this Journal yesterday.

15th. *Friday.* Rain'd very hard most part of the night, Very high wind, &c. A very disagreeable day—a little frost this morning which makes it very slippery. I never experienced such an Evening as this at this time of the year—It began to Thunder & Lightening about 6 o'clock, Then it began to Blow & Raine as if heaven and earth was coming together which lasted till about 11 o'clock.

⁴⁹Major Murray, commandant at Detroit.

16th. Played cards last night at Mr. Dufrenes in Company with all the principal People of the Village, did not come home untill this morning about 4 o'clock rather Drunkish—Froze hard about day breake—Rather an obscure day, not very cold.—

This day the Grie arrived about 2 o'clock. This Evening Mrs. Adamher and Mrs. Ranjard made a Bouquet which we all Presented to Mr. Dufresne in Honor of St. Antoine, he bearing that name—It was then carried from that to Mr. Adamher, Mr. Rivarre, Mr. Barthelmies, Mr. Selerons & then back again to Mr. Dufresne we danced in each house, the Ladies being with us.

17th. Froze hard last night—Most beautifull day.—This evening we had a Dance at Mr. Dufrenes by Mr. Anto'n Lassells invitation were all the Descent Ladies of this place were Present.—Signified to the Canadians this day my wish for them to fire three Vollies to morrow in consequence of its being Her Majesties Birth Day, which they unanimously assented to, to my utmost expectations.

18th. Jan'y. Her Majestys Birth Day.⁵⁰ God Bless her—We accordingly fired three Vollies as was proposed yesterday. I gave them the word of Command myself—Posted Mr. Adamher as an Officer on the Right & Mr. de Seleron on the left—Gave the young fellows a Gallon of Rum—a bottle to the Grie at his own Request—The Snake⁵¹ & some of the Principal Shawanias are here—I made them & the Grie acquainted with the Reason of the Rejoicing.

⁵⁰The birthday of Queen Charlotte of England was May 19. I am unable to suggest an explanation of Hay's apparent error in this respect.

⁵¹The Snake was chief of a band of Shawnee whose village in 1792 was in the vicinity of Grand Glaize. O. M. Spencer, who saw him on the occasion of a visit to Blue Jacket, describes him as "a plain, grave chief, of sage appearance." *op. cit.*, 29.

About 2 o'clock this afternoon I was apprized by Mr. J. B. Lassell that the young Canadian Volunteers intended to come & thank me & give me a Vollee in the front of the House—I immediately went home & they appeared in about a $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour to my great surprise with a Drum & the fiddle we had in the morning; they were headed by one of the Serjeants I made in the morning.—After they had fired their Volley, they begged I would head them & march to the Houses of Mr. Adamher Mr. Seleron & Mr. Leith to pay them the same compliment which I did.—I proposed to Mr. Leith that he and I should give dance this Evening which he assented to, consequently Mr. Ironside & myself immediately went round to all the Ladies & Gentlemen of the place and invited them.

19th Sunday. I never enjoyed myself at a Dance better than I did last night. The Gentlemen & Ladies all appeared dressed in their best bibs & Tuckers, & behaved very descently not one of the men the least in Liquor, & which is mostly the case in this place when they collect together—As Mr. Leith never walks a minuet I opened the Ball with Mr. Adamher—When Mrs. A.—entered the room I desired the fiddler to play, *God save the King*. I made Tangrie for the Ladies, and Grogg for the Gentlemen. Between 10 & 11 o'clock we gave them Coffee, which Mrs. Adamher was so good as to make for us.—We danced some *Dance Ronby*, one particularly a very curious one—It was sung by Mrs. Rangard, the chorus was rather Bawdie—that is a good double intendre which was—Avee sons grand viesous viesous, avec sons grandpasse par-tous—at the end of the first chorus; the plant a foot, the 2d two feet—the 3d a knee the 4 both knees, 5th and elbow, 6th bothe, 7th your head and 8th your bomb—so that the last summons the whole up—your right foot plant, then left, 1 knee, 2d knee, 1 elbow, 2d elbow, your head & your bombe.

As this is three nights now that I have danced, I find myself very tired this morning, my feet much swelled—And what with dancing, catching cold & given the word of Command yesterday I am quite hoarse.—I forgot to mention that yesterday was rather a disagreeable day—very muddy, misty, & now & then a little raine—began to Snow last night about 11 o'clock.—This is a very mild day.—Rather cloudy & Thick.—Mr. Lassell sett off this morning for Little Piconno, The Grie & Blue Jackett also for their different wintering Camps.

One Robidos a french man which Mr. Lassell sends express to Detroit, is likewise sett off this day.

Mr. Adamher & Mr. De Seleron made their appearance at the Ball with very fine fur caps on their heads, adorned with a quantity of Black Ostridge Feathers—Cockades made with white tinsell Ribbon, amasingly large—As their was a great deal of Mudd—Mrs. Payette who is an extraordinary large woman was sent for in a Carte, accompanied by her Husband & Daughter—Began to Snow again about 10 o'clock.— & Continued till the evening. Spent this Evening at Mrs. Cicotts in Company with Mrs. and Miss Payette.

20th *Wednesday*. Began to blow excessively hard last night about 11 or 12 o'clock—froze very hard; this is the coldest day we have had yett. Payed a few visits this morning and Dined sans ceremonie, with Mr. Dufresne.—Went and drank coffee about 4 o'clock this afternoon with Mrs. Adamher; The cold seem to increase as the sun setts.

21 *Thursday*. Froze very hard & excessively cold all night.—Something milder this morning—The Suns out which makes the weather very fine over head.—It became rather cloudy & thick about 10 o'clock, & in the Evening a very large ring round the moon—however about 8 o'clock it cleared up &

began to freeze pretty smart but not so cold as yesterday-night.

22 Friday. Very fine day, not the least cold. It Thaws a good deal.—Young Mr. Lassell caught a Rabbit this morning in one of the snares he had laide for the purpose.

Several Putewatomies arrived this afternoon with Peltry & a great quantity of meat—viz. Venison, Rackoons, Porcupine, Bare & Turkeys &c. the most of which Mr. Abbott bought; the Blanket its what the Indians want most at present & no one else except Mr. Dufresne has any at this Post but Mr. Abbott.—Beautiful Evening, not the least cold.

23 Saturday. Most beautifull day, quite warme—Scated about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour this morning on the River. Thaws a good deal which will soon carry off what little snow we have on the ground.

The Grie & Son arrived this afternoon from his wintering camps—He immediately sent for Mr. Ironside & me; when we went to him, he addressed himself to me—Son says he, here is my Son your Brother who has brought you a little meat to make you some broth which he begs you will accept, I should not says he have come myself, but my Son who is very bashfull asked me to come with him.

24th Sunday. Very fine day, quite warm but dirty under foot owing to the great thawings.

We played cards & supped at Mr. Adamhers last night, there was a good many Gentlemen their. The Gries Son's present consisted of four Turkeys, two leggs and two sides of Venison exceedingly fatt. Sent a Turkey in a present to Mrs. Adamher—The Grie & Son breakfasted with us this morning according to invitation.

25th Monday. Very fine day—Froze hard last night. Spent the last Evening at Mrs. Scicotts—Mrs. Payett & Daughter

were their—Mr. B. Lassell, Francis Lassell⁵² & Mr. J. B. Richerville & myself went together—the fiddler came in about 7 o'clock and we danced 'till about ½ past 9 o'clock, then we broke up—took Mrs. Payett home & played her the Cuckold March. Frome that we adjourned to Mr. J. B. Lassells with the fiddler, w[h]ere we drank Grogg, & from that we went and Serenaded the young girls & women of the Village.

Turned out cloudy & Gloomy about 12 o'clock and continued so 'till the Evening & most part of the night—

26th. No frost last night. This morning early it began to blow very hard & Snowed a little—Played cards last night at Mrs. Cicotts & serenaded the women again about 11 o'clock. Mr. Adamher informed me this [day] that a letter came to him yesterday directed to the *Grie* and to the *Pishew* (this last is Mr. J. B. Richerville) from the *Porcupine* & *Soldier* Chief of La Riviere a Languielle, telling them to have an eye over their young men & not to believe any false reports that goes about the county, that everything with respect to Lassell was totally false, & for the future not to believe those false reports, that they may depend upon it when ever any thing occurs they would send notice of it themselves, and never to hearken to any thing any one says except when it comes from people of character and chiefs who may be depended upon—for they cannot tell a Lye—

The *Grie* breakfasted with us this morning & went off immediately after for his wintering camp. Begins to freeze about 2 o'clock. a very fine Evening.

⁵²Francis Lasselle was a nephew of Antoine; his father, Jacques Lasselle was Indian agent at Miamitown from 1776 until 1780. When La Balme attacked the place in the latter year he fled by boat down the Maumee River with his family.

27th. *Wednesday*. Very fine day—froze very hard all Night; left off blowing about 8 o Clock last night. We had a little hopp last night at Mr. Adamhers sans ceremonie. Turned out thick & cloudy about 1 or 2 o Clock—and about 5 began to blow very fresh—freeze hard and a little Snow—The *Gros Loup* (a Mohicken Indian who has lived amongst the Miamies ever since his Infancy), gave me a love letter which he picked up in some place or other—Its dated New Madrid, May 6th, 1789 signed by J. S. Story and directed to Miss Betsey Gray, Ipswich Massechusech.

This is my mothers Birth day—God bless her—42 years of age.⁵³

28th. *Thursday*. A very bitter cold day, froze hard all night. Yesterday Evening arrived here a Mr. Lafontaine⁵⁴ a Trader who left this about 36 days ago—He went down the Wabache River then turned into the woods towards White River & their traded with the Indians.—he made 80 Deer Skins and about 500 Rackoons.—which he brought upon the horses he took out his goods upon—however he did not trade all his goods away, for he fetch'd some back—Its very extraordinary that meat was so difficult to be had that he & the Indian that

⁵³Marie Julie Reaume was born at Detroit in 1748. She married Jehu Hay and became the mother of several children in addition to our journalist. She died at Detroit, March 23, 1795. In 1793 Henry Hay petitioned for 5000 acres of land by way of a pension for his mother, which was granted. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XX, 691; XXIV, 557.

⁵⁴Probably Francis La Fontaine, who had been engaged in the Indian trade at Miamitown at least since 1780. According to La Balme's information, La Fontaine was then in charge of the warehouse of Charles Beaubien, the principal trader of the place. Beaubien had married the mother of J. B. Richardville, the Marie Louisa of Hay's Journal. Enraged over the plundering of their warehouse, Beaubien and La Fontaine incited the Indians to make the attack upon La Balme which resulted in the destruction of his little force. La Fontaine had a son, Francis, who married a daughter of Richardville and upon the death of that chieftain in 1841 succeeded him as chief of the Miami.

was with him were five days feeding on acorns on their return home. The fifth day in the Evening he sent the Indian on the look-out for Indian hutts to purchase meat, who fell in with a large Rackoon Tree which he cutt down & found five in it, which was a great resource; nothing extraordinary in the Indian Country.

29th. *Friday*. Exceedingly cold all night, rather cloudy & thick this morning, about 10 'Clock began to snow.—Messrs. Adamher, Dufresne & La Fontenne played cards here last night— Turned out rather milder this afternoon; about 8, o'clock this Evening it began to blow & Snow very hard— The snow drifted a good deal—The wind did not continue long.

30th. *Saturday*. Very fine day over head—a great deal of Snow fell this last night—Not quite so cold as yesterday morning.—Began to freeze about 5 o'clock this evening—very clear sky.

31st. *Sunday*. Mild snowy morning, took a ride on a carriolle this day with Mr. J. B. Richerville, as far as Mr. James Girtys House which is about two miles—Several Indians arrived this day from different places with peltry—This afternoon about 4 or 5 o'clock arrived here Mr. George Girty from his wintering camp with two loaded horses of Peltry. Brought with him his wife & two sisters in law (*Indians*)—He confirms the intention of Delawares going to the Spaniards in the spring, but says not many of them. Snowed the whole blessed day & part of the Evening.

1st *February*. Monday. Snowy morning & very mild. Mr. G. Girty returned this day to his camp; Mr. Ironside accompanied him & returned in the evening with his horses loaded with Peltry.—The Snow did not continue—very gloomy day—

Mr. James Girty⁵⁵ told me this Evening that Capt. Johnny Chief of the Shawanees was collecting all the Indians together to a Grande Council—He also shew'd me a red scalp which he got from a Delaware Indian; the meaning of this Scalp he does not know as yet, but it seems it must be sent into Detroit by the first opportunity.

2d *Tuesday*. Frooze exceedingly harde last night—Cold & Snowy morning—Turned out a very fine Sun Shiny day about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 o'Clock—Still continues to freeze hard—Wind N. Several Ottawas came in this morning from hunting, & brought their furr with them—Mr. Cicotts man arrived this morning from their excursion to la Riviere a L'anguille. Left Mr. Cicott about three Leagues from here, his Horse having given out; This man is to return to him immediately with a fresh one. Mr. Abbott, a Trader, of this place one of our disaffected subjects has been I'm told trying to traduce his brother Traders, by telling the Indians that every trader here was a Soldiar that the Good[s] they had was not theirs & that they were selling for other people—but, says he is quite different with me every thing that I have here is my own & I owe no one anything whatsoever—

It seems that he collected some Indians this day at his House & told them that every Trader here has a pass & that they were obliged to have one, but as for him he had no such thing as a Pass. (*which by the by is the case*).⁵⁶ I'm further in-

⁵⁵On James Girty see *supra* note 36. For a comprehensive sketch of his career, see Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on Upper Ohio*, 234, 235. O. M. Spencer gives an unpleasing account of Girty's brutality toward him while a captive at Grand Glaize in 1792. *op. cit.*, 43.

⁵⁶For a contemporary account by William Robertson of the practice of issuing passes to those wishing to trade out of Detroit see *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XI, 639. Robertson stated that at that time, (1788) passes were no longer required. Hay's statements on the subject seem to contradict this.

formed that he spoke to the Indians of Major Murray & Capt. McKee in so disrespectfull a manner that they are determined to send Strings of Wampum into Detroit immediately to informe them of it. There is several other things that has passed which has not as yet come to my ears. Mr. Cicott arrived about 3 o Clock this afternoon.

3d. *Wednesday*. Froze very hard all last night—Cold morning Wind N. Rather thick over head. Spent the Evening last night at Mr. Dufresne's played cards.—Mr. Abbott proposed my going with him as a Companion in the Spring to Port Vincennes—I told him I could not think of venturing my Carcass to such a place as that, among a parcel of renegards—This day about 12 o Clock arrived here Mr. Kinzie from Detroit which he left the 23d of last month—Received a letter from Major Murray and another from my Brother—also one from the Glaize from Mr. Sharpe acquainting me of his being obliged to leve my horse at that place as he had given out; and was in a bad condition—However Mr. Kinzie informs me that he's in a fair way at present owing to the good care of Mr. McDonnell who stays at the Glaize.—

Mr. Kinzie tells me the Major is very well pleased with my conduct, for having informed him of what passed at this place & a great deal of party work at Detroit, Damn'd glad I'm not amongst them. I look upon it that I'm far better off at this place, tho' ever so much out of the World. Haile and Raine this Evening about 7.

4th. *Thursday*. Snowed and froze hard from 12 o'clock last night & till this morning early—Began to snow again about 8 o'Clock & still continues. Cleared up about 3 o'clock this afternoon—freezes hard this Evening, Very Winday. Several Indians, (Principally Shawnee) arrived this Evening with a quantity of Peltry. The Snake has passed three days with us

here—He returned to his Camp this afternoon.—As we began some few days ago to establish a society, call'd the Most Light Honorable Society of the Monks, we have this Evening compleated it—Mr. Leith is appointed Grand Master and Commissary—Hay Secretary. J. B. Richerville, J. B. Lassell, Francis Lassell, Geo. Ironside & J. Kinzie, La Chambre, Musician to the Society. Rules are to be drawn out for which hereafter no one will be allowed to be a member without he gives his Honor that he will truly & voluntarily stick by them, and support them with all his might &c &c &c.

5th. *Friday*. Little snow this morning early. Rather thick over head. The weather much milder; but still pretty cold—Saw Mr. Cicott yesterday—nothing in that part of the Indian Country that he's been in.—Turned faire about $\frac{1}{2}$ past ten o Clock. The sun out.—Mr. Ironside & James Girty are gone down this afternoon to the Shawanee's village about 3 miles from here to try & get their peltry.

Turned exceedingly cold about 12 o'clock—Very high wind—N. W. Mr. J. B. Richervilles mother arrived this day from her wintering camp—Went & paid her a visit about 1 OClock—She has been a handsome woman—

6th. *Saturday*. Supped last night with J. B. Lassell, Kinzie, Richerville & F. Lassell were there—we played cards till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 oClock—Froze much harder & the cold much keener this last night than it has been this winter. Very beautifull Sun Shiny day & quite calme. Very mild Evening.

7th. *Sunday*. A Little Snow this morning—High wind—S. Quite mild—It Thaws. Snow & very high wind this Evening.

8th. *Monday*. Cold morning—Froze very hard most part of the night. The Rules of our Community (which is now call'd the Friars of St. Andrew) are drawn out by the Grand Master

and this day to be copied and translated into French by the Secretary. This Evening Mr. Leith collected the Friars of St. Andrew and made them acquainted with the articles they are to abide by, after which each member got a copy of them.

9th *Tuesday*. Froze very hard all night & exceedingly cold—It continues very cold—altho' the Sun is out. Wind W. and very Strong all day, this day is absolutely the Coldest we have had this winter as far as this, & its the opinion of every one as well as myself.

10th. *Wednesday*. Froze hard last night; Very fine clear day over head, but still very cold. Wind W. but not so strong as yesterday. Not quite so cold this Evening as the last.

11th. *Thursday*. Much milder than yesterday; Rather Cloudy & Thicker over head.—It was an excessive cold night notwithstanding. Visited Mrs. Adamher this afternoon—Copy'd off the two french songs that she made; respecting her Stolen Pigg,—And the Miamies Recollects.

12th. *Friday*. Very fine day over head, Rather colder than yesterday, Not very cold this last night; it began to freeze hard about day breake. This afternoon arrived here one Clairemont from the Petit Piconno, says Mr. Lassell arrived there about 15 days ago. Nothing extraordinary in that part of the Country—was 8 days on his way here.

13th *Saturday*.—very beautifull day, not the least cold.—Some Indians have lately been near the Ohio—on this side of it it seems they fell in with a Party of Americans, killed some of them & stole their horses, and took a negro Prisoner, one of those Indians a Shawanee who goes by the name of the Horse Jockey was wounded in the breast & hand by his own Tomyhawk which the American had wrested from him. The

Indian however got the better & killed him. The above account we got several days ago.

This morning about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 oClock a Party of warriors of the Shawanies Nation brought in a Prisoner—They took him on this side of the Ohio at the mouthe of Kentuck.

The Party that took him were out hunting last Spring, during which time some Miamis went to war and returned a different road they went & passed by this hunting party, the Americans pursued them & fell in with the Hunters & killed several of them women & Children &c. one Joseph Sovereigns who had been a Prisoner from his infancy was killed at that place;—These People went out last fall to revenge themselves & took this Prisoner who was out hunting much about the same place w[h]ere their own people were killed. Mess. Leith, Ironside & myself went down to the Chilicthe village of Shawanese⁵⁷—They were then in council—that is the young man who took the Prisoner was given a very minute Report of all what passed—which they are obliged to do—This party is not of this village, they belong to the Messessinoue⁵⁸ Village. The Reason for bringing him here is, that he's given to a man of this village.

Little Raine & Sleete this afternoon, turned out Snow this Evening.

14th. *Sunday*. Very disagreeable day. It thaws very much.—The Prisoner will not be hurt—Black Bairde Chiefe of the Chilicthe Village is not at home; Theire will be a ceremony whe[n] he arrives to adopt this Prisoner—I forgot to mention that when they came in with him yesterday, he held in his hand

⁵⁷Two miles below Miamitown.

⁵⁸The modern Mississinewa. The Miami name of the stream is Na-ma-tei-sin-wi, meaning 'it slants,' i. e., there is much fall in the river.

a Shishequia which he kept ringing in his hand. (its made of deer's hoofs) singing out lowde the words *Oh Kentuck*. His face was painted as black as Divils—which will be rubbed off as soon as he is adopted by one of the Roy'l Family—He'll be washed & cleaned up &c. When they came into the Town they stopped at a French mans house—Several Indians of their acquaintance went up to them & shook hands with them & the Prisoner, which was a good sign respecting the latter;—For we were apprehensive that they would burn him, as they went to war upon a revenge. They have its seems got a good many Horses this Trip.—Mr. Kinzie & Mr. James Girty went down this afternoon to see this Prisoner; Kinzie informed him that he need not be upon any apprehension for his life & that he was very lucky in being in hand that he was; Kinzie asked him where he was borne he answered Richmond in Virginia, that he left that place a little better than a month that he came thro' the Wilderness to Kentucky to get a debt that was due him in that Country that he was Several days in Kentucky—& not more than two at the mouthe of the River, when he was proposed by two other young men to cross the Ohio & hunt Turkey saying there was a great number of them, they had not been crossed but a very little time after separating themselves in different parts of the wood, when he perceived the other two making for the River, he did the same, but too late for they had already got into the Canoe & were actually crossing over, he attempted to take the woods but could not, the Indians had him between them & the River, however he tryed what he could do, & attempting to look round he received a blow in the forehead with a War Billet, (which was thrown by one of the Indians with an intention of hitting him in the Neck) he was immediately seized by another Indian, the other called out

not to hurt him; which they did not.—The Chiefe who was out hunting heard of a prisoner being taken sent word immediately that he should not be hurt—Its about fifteen days ago since he was taken—They have washed his face—but not his boddy, which will be done & also cleanly dressed when the Chiefe Black (Bairde) arrives, a Belt of Wampums is now making which will be thrown over his head when he's adopted & which he'll ware. He's being lately from Virginia shews very plainly that he was not in the action last Spring, and that some evil minded people who wanted to hurt him in the mind of the Indians—He's quite a young man, his name is McMullen.

15th. Monday. Rained, Hailed, Thunder'd & Lightened about day breake this morning as if heaven & Earth was coming together—Still Rains—Did not raine much after 10 o'Clock, but Springkled which made it very dis-grable—The weather much changed, we were obliged to open the windows almost all day.—Dined with J. B. Richerville in company with J. B. Lassell, F. L. & Kinzie.

16th Tuesday. What with Thaw & Raine the Snow is almost off the Grounde. Rained pretty smart this morning—Rained very hard all day—

17th Wednesday. Yesterday being *Mardi Gras* the Friars of St. Andrew, supped together at Mr. Richervilles. Mr. Ironside being unwell could not come. They sang a good many songs & retired to their cells in good time—The water has risen exceedingly this last night—at least 12 feet. Breakfasted this morning at Mr. J. B. Richervilles—Rained most part of the night.

18th. Thursday. Water much higher, it now runs thro the Village in such a manner that it separates it in three parts—the place that it runs in at, is quite rappid; This part of Vil-

lage is quite low & small rising ground on each side, occasioned by the great flood last year, when it seems the people were obliged to desert their houses & take for the Rising Hills in the woods & their encamp. The water is now within two feet of being level with the bank of the River which is not less than eighteen feet high, the River is at present about twice as broad as it was, before the water began to rise. Weather quite Milde *but* Cloudy. Water enough in the River for the Rebecca⁵⁹ to Swim in. The rappid so very strong, that its as much as two men can do to bring up a Canoe.

We are obliged to make use of Peerogues or Canoes to go to see those people who live on the other two Islands occasioned by the water—Sun shined about 4 o’Clock, turned a beautifull Evening untill about 8 or 9 o’Clock when it became Cloudy & Thick. After sun sett Mr. Leith, Ironside, Kinzie & myself and some french men, carried a long flatt piece of Timber & placed it across the narrowest part of the run & fall which enters from the River for the purpose of crossing more at our ease, as we are often obliged to be going backwards & forwards from our house to that of Mr. Leiths—it makes a very good Bridge.

19th. *Wednesday*. Raine this morning early—Pretty smart—a thin sleety raine continues which makes it very disagreeable—Rather a Raw day. Water still Rising. This afternoon about 2 o’clock arrived here from Detroit one *Jerome* a french man in Mr. Leiths employ with a Horse load of Blankets and Robedoux who left this for Detroit 19th. Jany on Mr. A. Lasells affairs—They came as far as Roche de Bout in Slays—

⁵⁹The “Rebecca” was a government armed vessel of 136 tons, built at Detroit in 1782. When used as a merchant vessel she carried a complement of fifteen men; when equipped as a war vessel, thirty-five men. *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 12.

Received letters from my Brother, Meredith, Baby & Mr. Robertson—the last respecting one Chevalier at Petit Piconno, which Mr. Robertson had heard was dead, but no such thing. The ice began to float down the River about 3 o’Clock this afternoon but soon stopped. 8 o’Clock the River is quite choacked up with Ice & the water Rising very fast, its now equal with the Banks of the river. 9 o’Clock some of the Ice entirely over one part of the Bank.—My Horse which Mr. Sharpe left at the Glaize is dead,—not owing to the fatigue he got, but a small worme which has killed a great number of Horses—he was fatt when he died. Played cards at Mr. Dufresne’s this Evening, with Mr. and Mrs. Adamher.

20th *Saturday*.—Began to raine this morning about day breake excessively hard & left off about 8 or 9 o’Clock—A great fogg this morning. Our bridge across the Run carried off—The Ice has totally choaked up the entrance of Run so much that it answers in lieu of the bridge, the River is choaked up in the same manner, a Person might easily cross the River upon it.—Fogg cleared up about 10 o’Clock & began to blow pretty fresh.—Went to Mr. Cicotts this day to inform myself Respecting Piere Chevallier trader at Tipiconno for Mr. Robertson, from one Cleremont who lately came from that place but he could not give me so good an account of him as Mr. Cicott who went theire himself this winter—he says some time in December last this Chevallier was robbed by the Potuwatomie Indians, in the night when asleep owing to his not making his door fast, that he got some of his goods back, and that what they got was not considerable—Mr. Cicott says that its risking Property too much, to let him have it, as he lives in the woods with only one man with him continually exposed to the malice & treachery of the Indians about him—

that he means to come to this place very early in the Spring and will send in a few packs to Mr. Robertson.

11 o'Clock. Wind seems to increase— About 3 o'Clock this afternoon the Ice floated down the River & the Run all in a body. I don't think I ever saw a grander sight: a number of Loggs & Trees, stumps of trees &c came down upon it. The River is now pretty clear except the run which is full from the mouthe till about halfway. The water which ris immediately on the ice's going. is—now lowering much—I must observe that a little time before the Ice went off that two Miami Indians walked over it. a third was on his way when the Ice began to move. he was obliged to return immediately: The Ice made a great noise when it came down. The water touched Mr. Payett's step into his house and very near that of Mr. Cicotts—The Ice was by large lumps jumbled up together which occasioned the noise, as they Ran one over the other.—Rather Raw this Evening.—Raine from 7 to 9 o'Clock.

21st *Sunday*. Beautifull morning. The River quite clear of Ice—The Run still choaked up— Water about four feet lower. —about 10 or 11 o'Clock the Run got clear of Ice. About 1 or 2 o'Clock it began to raine & continued 'till the Evening.— A Great deal of Ice came down this afternoon, a good deal of it went thro' the Run—Water rise a good deal this afternoon.— a great quantity of Ice at the bottom of the Run, a great quantity of Wood, Old Trees &c. came down with the Ice this Evening. This evening I was sent for by Mr. J. B. Lassell to be a witness to his marriage with Miss Rivarre. Mr. Adamher, Mr. De Seleron and Mr. Barthelemie were also witness.—

22nd. *Monday*. The finest day I have seen for some time— A good deal of Ice still floating.—The Centre of the Run

choaked up.—a great quantity of Trees, Stumps &c. floating down this morning—Froze a little last night. 12 o'Clock—Mr. Leith got the people to make a Bridge with the logs that floated into the mouthe of the Run—Very little Ice floating at Present.

23rd. Tuesday. Damn'd disagreeable day. Rained most Part of the night, Thunder a little at a distance; Snowed about day breake. Yesterday rote Meredith, Jack Robertson, Wm. Robertson & my Brother, and this morning wrote to Thoms. McKee.⁶⁰ Not the least sign of Ice on the River. Raine most part of the afternoon—Thunder & Lightning about 5 o'Clock, & rained exceedingly hard. Mr. Ironside shewed me how to know when the Lightning & Thunder is near—As soon as it lights you Count the number of Seconds between it & the thunder, & each second, its 1120 feet off—multiply this by the number of seconds, divide by 3 & it will give you yards and by 1760 & it will give you the distance in miles should it be 10 far.

24th. *Wednesday*. Some time in the night Mr. Kinzie came in to informe us that the water was rising very high that it was already at his Step—He came in again about day breake & told us it was entirely in his House, desired he might bring his apprentices here & also stay himself with us—The water is amasingly high obliged to make use of a canoe to fetch Mr. Leith here, the water rising close to his Door—Mrs. & Miss Payee obliged to fly there House about 12 o'Clock in the night & take refuge at Mr. Barthelmies, Mr. & Mrs. Cicott were obliged also to go up to their Garrett. Mr. Lorains, Mr. Lafontaine Houses & Mr. Kinzie's Shopp where he works is

⁶⁰Son of Alexander McKee, and for many years in the British Indian Department.

an Island of itself. A river runs on each side of them the same at Mr. Leiths, but the last will soon be overflowed— 9 o’Clock; Its at present not far from our own door—Obliged to cut down Picketts & make a road thro the different yards, the Streets and Bank entirely overflowed—Blows excessively hard—Raine most part of the Morning— Our House quite surrounded with water— Runs amasingly in the cellar—Mr. Leith obliged to desert his.— Every House almost in the village is in the same Predicament—we are all obliged to put our trunks & things in the lofte—We are now Prepared for its coming in the House— Mr. Leith & Kinzie put up a stove in the loft of the Company’s House— Mr. Ironside & myself joined them this afternoon— The water came into the house about 3 o’Clock, a good deal came up from the cellar. After Supper which was about 6 o’Clock Mr. Leith returned to his own Garrett. Mr. Ironside & myself got under way in the Canoe to return to our Garrett, but we were very unfortunate, just as we came into the rappidest part of the water, a whirl Pool very near oversett the Canoe, Mr. Ironside who was steering, slipped backwards & fell into the water, the canoe had then greate way & lucky enough arrived close to the upper part of the Picketts of the Grave Yarde which I immediately took hold of & held fast by them standing on the ribbon, pushed the Canoe off immediately with the lads that were in it, who got down the Current in time to save him. He says when the canoe came up to him, he was just gone—The lads took him into one Mr. J. Morris—& came immediately back for me—I got some dry clothes for him at Mr. Adamhers.— Water not rising much.

25th. *Thursday.* Water very little higher than it was—Blue and froze excessively hard this last night—Very fine sun

shiny day. As I'm not overfond of Canoes I do not mean to return to the Compys House.—Breakfasted at Mr. Adamhers & I'm engaged to dine there also. 11 o'Clock, Water seemingly Rising—

26th. *Friday*. Very little frost last night.—Gloomy day—Water rose a little last night & is still rising.—Canoes goes thro several yards ever since the day before yesterday. There is not above three Houses that you can walk to without wetting yourself or going in a Canoe. Went in a Pirogue with J. B. Richerville & F. Lassell & paid a visit to Mr. Leith in the Friponne,⁶¹ also to Mrs. Cicott in her Garrett—This last House has at least water half way up to the Garrett Floor—Sun shined about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 o'Clock. Pd. J. B. Lassell a visit alone. The water had obliged Richerville to quit his House & go to his mother's, Her House is very high from the Earthe, which prevents the water coming to it as soon as the others.

27th. *Saturday*. Wind began to blow very hard last night about 10 o'Clock & continued the most part of the night.—Froze very hard—Water lowered a little—Very fine day—I o'Clock—Water still falling. High wind this afternoon, S. W. About Sun sett the wind dyed away & it became a perfect Calme; A very beautifull Evening—Water has fallen about 4 inches at least this day.

28th. *Sunday*. Froze very hard last night. Water fallen about 15 Inches since last night. Very fine Sun shiny day—

⁶¹Probably this term is used in the sense of warehouse. Toward the close of the French régime in Canada royal storehouses were established at Quebec and Montreal. Because of the officials peculations that developed in connection with their administration both the storehouse at Quebec and the one at Montreal became popularly known as La Friponne, or The Cheat. See Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston, 1885), II, 24. It seems probable that the term passed into more or less general use as the designation for storehouses at the French posts.

Our floor quite dry—Payed a visit to Mr. Abbott this afternoon in comp'y with Miss. Adamher, Dufresne & Coco Lassell—from that we went to see Mr. Lafontaine.— Coco got damned drunk— After those visits, J. B. Lassell, J. B. Richerville & Francois Lassell & myself gave the ladys a row upon & down the River, the fiddler played a few tunes and myself on the flute.

1 March. *Monday.* Water has fallen at least two feet since yesterday— Froze hard and snow'd a good deal this morning. 10 o'clock Its now thawing which makes it very dirty & disagreeable— Water still falling very much.—6 o'clock— Little Raine & Sleete this Evening— The snow entirely gone.

2d. *Tuesday.* Very dark disagreeable day— Water fallen greatly, the Bank entirely dry—but very much worne away— particularly opposite to Blue Jacketts door its not above five or six feet wide—before it was at least 10 or 12. Mr. Leith & Kinzie have moved back to us this morning. Yesterday afternoon Mr. Ironside & Myself moved our baggage down from the Lofte.—This day *The King* of the Shawnee called the (*Wolfe*) Capt. Snake & another Chiefe of the same Nation came to this place—that a meeting should be made of the Principal Traders & Inhabitants of the place, which was done—He then got up and spoke as follows—Fathers & Brothers here assembled, this is to acquaints you that we are now going to gather all our stragglng nation together and build a village a little distance up from here— for which we have to request you will let us have a little Tobacco & Vermillion—by & when our village is Built we shall hold a grand Council & informe you of our Wants— What we want now is to rise the hearts of our young men. And you may be assured you shall lose nothing by it, for we mean to cultivate the land and rase a

good deal of corn & will recompense you for your present kindness to us— The people all of a voice announced that they approved very much of theiré coming to live together in one place— And gave them what they wanted— The String of Wampum was given to Mr. Adamher— The Chillcothy tribe of Shawaneese who have their village a little distance down from here are not to move.— Raine, Snow & Northerly Wind this afternoon. Snow's and freezes very hard this Evening.

3rd. *Wednesday*. Excessively cold all night & continues to be so—blowed also very hard all night &c Ice floating down the River this morning— Water quite low, the entrance of the Gully dry. Amazingly cold all day & blew very hard— Two of the Shawanee Chiefs went off this day; Snake remained— Capt. Johnny came up this day from his Village.

4th. *Thursday*. Froze hard all night. A little snow— not near so colde this morning as yesterday—Rather an obscure day. No wind. Its very curious how the water has rise & spread itself in this Country in about thirty years— There is an old French woman in this place of the name of *Barthelmie* who says she recollects when the banks of the River were so near one to another and consequently the River so narrow, that at low water the children used to jump over it. Scated this morning at the Bottom of the Gully opposite Mrs. Payees. Turned out a very fine afternoon— Thaw's very much. Snake gone home.

5th. *Friday*. Froze hard last night. Windy, dark day— Thaws a good deal. To shew what rascalls their is in this place—one Lucie a Canadian who was in Mr. Abbotts service was seen carrying off a Bundle of Hay this morning by Mr. Leith & J. Forsythe which he stole out of the Friponne, thro'

the window.—(The Property of Mr. Leith's) The fellow at first denied it, but when he found there were such convincing proofs against him, he acknowledged it, by saying there was no harm in taking a little Hay. It's some time now that the Hay has been Perceived going damned fast; Mr. Kinzie has at the same time a good deal of property in the said House—Mr. Adamher however has sent him a summons to appear before him at Mr. Leith's desire. The fellow appeared is obliged to get security for his good behaviour hereafter.

Raine most part of the afternoon. This afternoon, the Little Turtle, the Grees wife & Brother arrived here with some other of their family from their wintering & hunting Ground. The Grie has been sick but is now getting better.

6th. *Saturday*. Raine & high wind all night— Very dirty disagreeable darke Cloudy day, Wind blows very hard. 4 o'clock. Begins to freeze very hard.

7th. *Sunday*. Froze excessively hard all last night.— Very cold Windy day. This morning the Little Turtle, The Gries Brother &c. left this for their home—Sent a pound of Tobacco to the Grie with my Compliments. This afternoon Mr. Leith's pierogue arrived here from Roch de Bout, which left this the 24th Feby.

8th. *Monday*. An excessive cold day, Wind blows very hard &c A great deal of Ice floating down the River. Cloudy & a little Snow in the morning—but turned out very clear in the afternoon.

9th. *Tuesday*. Very fine Sun Shiny day—not so cold as yesterday and very calme. The River full of floating Ice.

Three months this day I left Detroit.

10th. *Wednesday*. Very mild day— Very thick over head—a great deal of Snow fell this last night. This day the Chili-

cothy young men came down from the place where The Town is to be built, they have already finished the Council House, which is by all accounts a very long one. This afternoon one Shirelock arrived here from his wintering ground, (he trades for Mr. Leith) in consequence of one Montroills stealing his Property to the amount of Twenty Eight Bucks he has brought the fellow with him— This Montroille is a fellow who has abandoned himself totally & lives amongst the Indians, those kind of people are of the worst, they are very pernicious to the Trade who fill the Indians Heads with very bad notions & think nothing of Robbin the Traders Property; when they have an opportunity, such Rascalls ought to be dealt with very severely and totally excommunicated from the Indian Country.

11th. *Thursday*. Rather cold this morning, but still thick and Cloudy over head. Montroille appeared this morning who ownes the deed. Shirelock told him it was no more of his business that the property he robbed was Mr. Leiths & that it lay in his Breast what should be done to him— He makes great promises and says that he will hire himself to Mr. Leith & work out what he Robbed; Mr. Ironside told him he would speake to Mr. Leith about it. I believe this matter is now settled the man is to work out the value of what he stole— Turned out a very fine day about 12 O'Clock.

12th. *Friday*. Sott up all night with Mr. Adamher & some more Gentlemen at Mr. Lorrains who has been very ill near Eight months. He fell in a kind of a Trance last Tuesday afternoon about 4 o'Clock and continued so untill this day at 12 oClock and died—during the time he was in this situation he took no nourishment whatever, his Eyes were shut, had no hearing, kept constantly blowing & now & then coughed a

little.—He was the oldest Inhabitant of this Place & Environs, he has been here &c 40 years⁶²—

Very disagreeable dirty day, It thaws very much. A good deal of Raine this Evening.

13th. *Saturday*. Very fine day, but very muddy & dirty under foot; Blows excessively hard. Mr. Lorain was buried this day. The young Volunteers of the place gave him three VOLLIES at the request of some of the Pincipal People here, in Honor to his services rendered to the King of Great Britains, and long Residence in this place. I shewed them how to Proceed respecting the manouvers, the word of Command was given by one Vivie who has been a Drummer in the late 84th. Regt. 1 B'n

14th. *Sunday*. Very beautifull day quite calme—Froze a little last night & a little snow before day Breake. This day Mr. Geo. Girty came down from his wintering Camp. Snake came down also to day from his village, he dined and got very drunk at Mr. Abbotts. It seems that that Gentleman wants Snake to accompany him to the Post, but he'll find himself mistaken for the other would not go with him upon any account.

15th. *Monday*. Very fine day, a little frost last night—Wind rather high.—Sherlock & Geo. Girty returned this day to their wintering place. Turned thick & Cloudy about 1 oClock— and quite calme— A very dark Evening.

16th. *Tuesday*. Rained most part of the night—Thunder at a Distance, about day breake—A great number of Pigeons

⁶²The census of 1769 includes Lorraine's name among the nine heads of families then at Miamitown. In 1763 he, or another of the same name, was at Ouiatanon when the savages overpowered the English garrison. Lorraine and another Frenchman were instrumental in saving the lives of the captives. See Indiana Historical Society, *Pubs.*, II, 335, 440.

flying about this morning. Very calme but cloudy & thick. Began to Raine about 11 oClock & continued all day— The water has rose a good deal since last night.

17th. *Wednesday*. St. Patrick's— Rained excessively hard all night & still continues to raine a little— Water rose since last night at least ten feet & still rises very fast, it now runs into the Gully— Blows pretty fresh. I'm much afraide that we shall have a second flood. Left off raining about 11 or 12 o'Clock. Turned out a very fine afternoon and Evening. *Sent Mr. Abbott a String of Potatoes.*

18th. *Thursday*. Raw, Cloudy day. Froze very hard last night. Water has rose very high. even with the bank— Mr. Payees People obliged to quit theire House— and its equal with the step of Kinzie & Cicotts doors. However I believe the Frost will stop its progress. Cleared up about 10'Clock and turned out a very fine afternoon & Evening; Water still rose all day, altho' there was a Frost,—about a foot.

19th. *Friday*. Very beautifull day; Froze hard last night. Water has rose very little, Its almost at a stand.— Water began to fall a little this afternoon—

20th *Saturday*. Very fine morning, rather heazy. Wind at S. warme; Very little Frost last night, the water had fallen about 5 inches & better since yesterday afternoon.

21st. *Sunday*. Very beautifull day. Quite warme & Calme —Not the least frost last night; The water falls very slowly, not a foot since yesterday. A party of Shawanees arrived from war at their village the 19th instant.— They have brought three Prisoners & a negro man. It seems that another party of them attacked a boat wherein there was an officer & about 21 men. They killed every one of them; Sank the Boat & hid every utensill they found in it, in the woods. They also took

nineteen persons near Limestown which they have all Prisoners except 2 or 3. The first party were the Chilicothy People — & the others the Picowees. One of the above Prisoners told Mr. Kinzie this morning the General St. Claire came down the Ohio, to the Bigg Miami, about Christmas last. This man's name is John Witherington, comes from a place called Limestown. They also got a great quantity of Linnen out of this Boat— It seems that their was several other parties out, some of the Catawas or Cherokees were out also; at any rate their was at least 40 souls taken & killed. This John Witherington's family is separated from him, he has a wife 7 months gone with childe & 7 children, which some of the other Parties have got Prisoners.⁶³

22 *Monday*. Cloudy morning, very hard shower of Raine in the course of the Night; Very calme— water falls so very slowly that its hardly perceivable—The Miamias of the opposite side danced from 7 oClock last Evening untill this morning at day breake; they were taken in what they call their *Natt*, which is with them, like the Colours of a Regiment, with us; they take it out to war with them, and when they return, there is a ceremony of taken it into the Council House, Chiefs House or Place where they keep theire Trophies. It seems that this *Natt* has been out ever since last fall. Thus custom prevailes amongst all the Indian Nations. But there are a number of Tribes who have not those *Natts*.

23rd. *Tuesday*. Cloudy day. Quite calme & not the least cold— A little raine last night— water fallen a good deal since yesterday.— An Indian, a Miami arrived last Evening from the Post, brought a letter to Mr. L. Dubois from one

⁶³For accounts of similar raids upon the Americans in the vicinity of Cincinnati at this time see *Amer. St. Papers, Ind. Affs.*, I, 86—91.

Perret Gamlains, Notary Public of that place; Nothing extraordinary in that part of the Country; the Garrison consists of upward of one Hundred men, & officers &c. This Indian has passed the winter about the Environs of Post Vincennes.

Their seemingly is a very great want of Provisions in that place— the Garrison the same, They are obliged to kill the cattle belonging to the settlers.⁶⁴

24th. Wednesday. Very Cloudy morning, but turned out a very fine day about 12 or 1 oClock. Water fallen greatly; The Gully clear of water, but very muddy—Geo. Girty returned this day from the woods. One John Thompson who was taken amongst the 19 mentioned the 21st Instant— came here this day— He informed me that their was a great talk of raising men to come against the Ind's; However General St. Clair who is now at the Bigg Miami with two boat loads of goods, means to call the Indians together at a Council at Post Vincennes— But if the Indians do not come to a settlement with them, they mean to fight them. He says that he understood about Christn—[torn] A War was [torn] between [four leaves missing] this morning of which a description is here with inserted in this Paper— Waited upon all the people of yeplace this morning, and bid them farewell. Dined at Mr. Adamhers & received the letters of that family, thanked them for the politeness and attention they paid me during my stay at the Miamies. Settled with Marie Louisa, respecting a Horse which she is to purchase and send in to me by her son Mr. J. B. Richerville. Left the Miamis about ½ past 12 oClock. had the pleasure at the same time of being told by Mr. & Mrs. Adamher that I was much regretted by every one in the village. Stopped about 9 leagues below the Miamis abt

⁶⁴During the winter of 1789-90 the inhabitants of Vincennes were in a condition bordering upon starvation. See Dunn, *Indiana*, 269.

5 oClock in the afternoon: stopped a leake in our Peerogue, made a fire and put up our tent; Began to raine about 4 oClock; Rained very hard almost all the night.

2d April *Friday*. About $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 oClock got under way, the Rain being over & moon lighte. Stopped at 11 leagues below the place we slept at last night; at the Indian Wigwaum from whom we got the Rackoon last fall going out; The two frenchmen that are with us bought some sugar for Tobacco—The Ind'n gave Mr. Leith & me a large piece, for which we gave him some Bread in return; Mr. Leith promised to send him some Tobacco. Arrived at the Glaize at Mr. McDonnells about 4 oClock this afternoon— hich is 30 Leagues from the Miami Town. Just before sun sett Messrs. Sheppard & Sharpe arrived from Detroit, they left their Peerogue in the morning and walked up— They left Detroit the 24th. March. As they left the letters in the Pierogue we can not get them till tomorrow morning.

3d. *Saturday*. I cannot help mentioning how very hospitably we were received by Mr. McDonnell who gave us the best he had— he was also so obliging as to give me several cakes of Mapell Sugar one of which is for Richard with his Compliments— he likewise gave me a few Turkey wings. We parted with him & Messrs. Shepherd & Sharpe about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 oClock. Met with Mr. Shepherds pierogue about 2 leagues below the Glaize Mr. Leith took his letter out of Mr. Shepherds Trunk & I took one from my Brother out of Mr. Sharpes, agreeable to their desire— Arrived at Mr. J. Cochrans about $\frac{3}{4}$ past 5 oclock which is 15 leagues from the Glaize. Stopped a little & got a little maderia & grogg, from where proceeded down the Rapids,⁶⁵

⁶⁵Apparently the concluding portion of the Journal has been destroyed. In its present condition it closes abruptly at this point.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

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NO. 8

WASHINGTON COUNTY

GIANTS

BY

HARVEY MORRIS

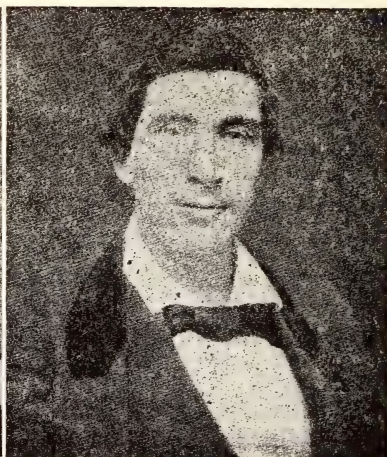
GREENFIELD, IND.
WILLIAM MITCHELL PRINTING CO.
1921



LIEUT. ISAAC VAN BUSKIRK AND SERGT. JOHN VAN BUSKIRK
Company F, 27th Indiana.



CAPT. DAVID V. BUSKIRK
Company F, 27th Indiana Cavalry.
Tallest Man in Union Army.



CAPT. PETER KOPP
Company F, 27th Indiana.
Killed at Antietam.

INTRODUCTORY

"One thing will certainly interest you—that it is evident, from our statistics, that the Indiana men are the tallest of all natives of the United States, and these latter the tallest of all civilized countries." This statement to Adjutant-General Terrell, in a letter from Dr. B. A. Gould, of the United States Sanitary Commission, during the tabulation of the measurements of Union soldiers in the Civil war, was the original inspiration of this publication. Later investigations by Doctor Gould showed that the Union soldiers from Kentucky and Tennessee averaged one-third of an inch taller than the Indiana men. Subsequent investigations by Doctor Baxter, of the Provost-Marshal-General's office, added Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, California and Nevada to Kentucky and Tennessee as having taller men than Indiana; but the total men measured from these seven states were less than half the number of Indiana men measured. Moreover, Doctor Baxter's research showed that the men from the Second Congressional District of Indiana surpassed in height, by nearly one-third of an inch, the men of any of these seven states.

The district measurements were peculiarly striking as showing that the men from the Second were half-an-inch taller than those from the next highest district in Indiana; nine-tenths of an inch above the average for the State; and one and one-third inches above the lowest district. Doctor Gould's attention had been especially drawn to Indiana by Company F, of the Twenty-seventh Indiana, in which he said there were sixty-seven men out of 101 who were recorded at six feet or over; and which included the

tallest man in the Union army whose record was complete, measuring 82.5 inches in his stocking-feet.

Recent inquiry as to the ancestry of Gen. Thomas Jackson Rodman, the inventor of "the Rodman gun," developed the fact that he was of a family included in what were known as "the Washington County Giants," in an early day; and, as Washington county was in the Second District, attention was turned to this indication of an explanation of the Civil war record. Mr. Harvey Morris, of Salem, kindly undertook to gather up what information could be had at this time as to these colossal Hoosiers, their antecedents, and their descendants; and his valuable paper follows. To it have been appended the pertinent parts of the reports of Doctors Gould and Baxter; extracts from the history of the Twenty-seventh regiment, and contemporary newspaper comments on Company F; an earlier article on "Washington County Giants," by Warden W. Stevens, to which Mr. Morris refers; a tabulation of measurements of Indiana forces in the Spanish-American war, specially prepared for this publication; a tabulation of mean stature of soldiers in the World war, as thus far completed, furnished by the surgeon-general's office; and some biographical information concerning Capt. David V. Buskirk, "the tallest man in the Union army."

As will be seen from the appendices, there has been no little discussion of the meaning of these statistics by biometricians, for it is obvious that average differences in stature are not matters of chance, but are produced by some cause. The discussions show some marked differences of opinion, which is quite natural; but they leave the impression that an error has been made in dismissing suggested causes, individually, on the ground that the cause under discussion

would not of itself explain all the facts. The Civil war statistics show that the drafted men of the Second Congressional District of Indiana not only averaged taller than those of any other Indiana district, but also taller than the average of any other State represented in the Union army. Probably Doctors Gould and Baxter were right in their surmise that the drafted men did not average as tall as the volunteers. In this case there had been a special selection of tall men for Company F, of the Twenty-seventh regiment and it is known that this occurred in some other States. Quite possibly the conditions may be due to a combination of causes, and all possible causes are worthy of consideration.

Heredity is presumably the chief influence on stature, but it is not a constant influence. One of its manifestations in Indiana is the superior average stature in the southern part of the State, which was largely settled from the South. As shown by all the statistics, the people of the southern States, with the exceptions of Louisiana and Florida, average taller than the people of the northern States. In Indiana families there are found the usual characteristics of heredity in this respect, of deviations from the type and recurrence to the type—or "throw-backs," as they are commonly called. An illustration of this is found in the notes on the Buskirk family, appended, which produced the tallest man in the Union army.

Age is another unquestionable factor in comparative measurements. Doctor Gould fixes the age of full stature at thirty years; and the consensus of opinion is that it is not less than twenty-five years. The average age of soldiers at enlistment is commonly less than that. In the Civil war, of the 118,254 measurements given by Terrell,

75,135 were under twenty-five years. In the Spanish-American war two-thirds of the Indiana troops measured were under twenty-five. In the World war figures, the average of muster-out stature is larger than that of muster-in stature, as would be expected in the case of youthful soldiers under good sanitary conditions. But in this regard, the averages for Indiana are exceptions to the rule, the muster-out stature being less. This may possibly be explained by the smaller number, and different persons measured.

It seems clear that, on the average, those who migrate to new countries, or to frontiers, are taller than those who do not; although Doctor Baxter dismisses this proposition with the statement: "It is yet to be shown that enterprise and ambition depend upon stature, and not on qualities of the mind." But enterprise and ambition are not the only controlling factors in such movements. Strength and endurance are fully as important, on account of the hardship of travel, and usually the hardship of life after migration. For example, before the building of the Pacific railroad the number of people who went to the Far West for their health was comparatively negligible, but now it is very considerable. Pioneer life in America has never been one of ease, and therefore never attractive to the weak or infirm; and the statistics indicate that this process of selection takes taller people, on the average.

Thus, the Civil war statistics show that the natives of New York and New England who enlisted in the West were taller, at all ages, than those who enlisted at home. They show that our foreign born soldiers were uniformly taller than the average of their respective nationalities at home. In the World war, the natives of Alaska, and of the

States nearest frontier conditions, rank among the highest. In fact the whole history of the United States supports this view, for the stature of Americans has been the subject of comment for more than a century, although all Americans were immigrants from Europe, or descendants of such immigrants. Quotations are unnecessary, but a typical one is the following statement by Morris Birkbeck, 105 years ago: "Nine out of ten native Americans are tall and long-limbed, approaching or even exceeding six feet."

On the other hand, after a region ceases to be frontier, and travel becomes comfortable, immigration loses this characteristic. This is strikingly illustrated by the small stature of the natives of Kentucky and Tennessee who served in the Indiana forces in the Spanish-American war; while the pioneer immigrants to Indiana from those States were notoriously of large stature. It is probable that when the measurements of the World war are fully tabulated, they will furnish very decisive evidence on this point.

In fact there is a wide field for future investigation, both as to causes of stature and the period of full growth; and there are many existing collections of measurements that would throw light on both, if they were tabulated. For example, the Bertillon measurements of criminals, which have been so widely kept in the United States for a number of years, and which have been tabulated as to nearly everything but stature, would no doubt add largely to the sum of our information; and this would be an excellent field for college and university work by students of biology.

There can be no doubt that climate, soil and food have influences on both animal and vegetable life. The thesis of Prof. Frederic Starr that the development of the white race in America has been steadily in the direction of the

characteristics of the American Indian has very tangible foundation. The occurrence of great stature in special localities is probably due, in part at least, to these influences, though it is not to be traced easily. One fact that might have some effect in this line is unquestionable, and that is that the people of the Central West are not now confined to a diet of the products of that region to any such extent as they were in the earlier period.

The effect of in-door employment in checking growth has long been recognized in Europe, and it is presumably beginning to show in this country. The use of alcoholic liquors in the period of growth is generally conceded to retard it; but this would presumably have no material effect in comparative measurements in the United States. There may, of course, be effective causes that have not been suggested in the discussion of the subject thus far.

It is notable that there has been little consideration of pre-natal influences; and yet it seems obvious that the influences that have been mentioned could not account for differences in a single family, with common parentage, and no apparent change in external conditions. In such cases it would seem necessary that the explanation must be found in pre-natal influences of some kind. In this connection it is of interest that recent experiments of Doctor Stocker, at Woods Hole, are said to show that the presence of iodine, at certain stages of embryonic development, promotes stature; and even tends to produce the "long skull" as distinguished from the "round skull." It is well known that iodine is an active thyroid stimulant; and it may be that the presence of this, or some other chemical, may be found a material factor. At any rate there are both abundance and variety of chemicals in the waters of the Second Congressional District of Indiana.

J. P. Dunn.

WASHINGTON COUNTY GIANTS

By HARVEY MORRIS

In the early years of the last century, while Indiana was engaged in constructing a system of Internal Improvements, a large gang of men were employed on some such work a short distance from New Albany, and among them was one from Washington county by the name of Madison Short. He was a giant in size and a Goliath in strength and had bested all of the other men on the works, both in trials and strength and in the rough and tumble fights so common at that time.

One day, after having come out victor in some peculiarly strenuous contest, the foreman of the gang spoke to him about his success; to which he is said to have answered: "O that is nothing. Up in Washington county where I live there is a whole race of giants, and I being the runt, and not able to hold my own with the common run of men, had to come down here where there are just common folks." I will again refer to Short in this article, and will briefly notice some of this race of giants that he referred to, and will show that the race has not died out with the passing of time and the strenuous conditions of life that existed in that day. And in this account, I shall divide them into three classes, viz: Those who were early settlers or pioneers, and so far as possible, give the States from which they came; the descendants of these pioneers; and our own day giants. For they still exist.

We, no doubt, shall differ in our opinions as to where the line dividing the ordinary man and the giant should be drawn, but in this case, all of the men named, with but

very few exceptions, will be well over six feet, and the exceptions will be cases where they possessed unusual strength, and will be noted.

Stevens, in his History of Washington County, mentions many who will be named in this article, giving many examples to illustrate their right to be termed giants, and while I will name those he has referred to, I shall repeat but very few of the incidents he has so fully set out, and will give many names he has omitted. And so far as it has been possible at this late day, I will give the names of the States from which they immigrated to this county. Mr. Stevens' article is added as an appendix hereto.

Almost all of these men were peacable, industrious, and desirable citizens, who would have been an honor to any community. They were largely consistent members of the various churches of the county, Presbyterian, Baptist, Quakers, Methodist and Christian. And it is well that they were of such character, for had they been quarrelsome and vicious, the good and quiet people would have been compelled to leave and allow them to enjoy the country alone. But with few exceptions, they were always found on the side of peace and good order.

The men whose names I shall set out in this paper were engaged in all of the various industries of their time, such as ministers, lawyers, physicians, farmers, manufacturers, mechanics, laborers, etc.

PART I

EARLY SETTLERS

The champion of all these in all classes, who admittedly stood at the head of the list in every kind of contest, was Maj. Abram Stover. "Uncle Abe" as he was called, was a large, well proportioned, portly man, near seven feet tall, who could easily meet the efforts of all others in trials of strength or physical contests. What the extent of his strength actually was, no one seems to have known, as he was never known to have been called on to test it to the limit.

Madison Short, with whose name this paper opened, while engaged on the work near New Albany, saw Mr. Stover coming down the road towards where he was working, driving a four horse team. Short was well acquainted with Stover, and this being soon after his talk with the foreman about the Washington County Giants, he called out to men working with him, "You think I am big, come here and I will show you a real giant from Washington county." And when Stover drove up, he went out and shook hands with him and introduced him. Stover was prevailed on to stop and give some exhibitions of strength which he did to the great astonishment of all present.

An old neighbor and friend of Stover related the following incident of the first time he was called on to employ his strength, then unknown to him. The neighbor said it was told by Stover, as follows:

One day in the summer time he, a large over-sized, awkward boy of sixteen, was walking along the public road

when he was overtaken by a stranger on horseback, who asked him some fool question, and received an answer in kind. The man who had then passed him, turned and said "You must be a fool." "That may be," said Stover, "but it seems that there are two of us." This remark from the boy seemed to rile the man and he rode back, got off his horse, hitched him and came up to Stover and said he would lick him and teach him better manners. Catching him by his shoulders, he backed him into a fence corner and began shaking him and finally drew back to strike, but Stover was too quick for him and hit first, and the man went down and took the count, and then some. Stover turned him over and shook him, but he did not revive and he became frightened. He picked the limp form up and put it over the fence where the hogs that were then allowed to run in the road could not get to him, and started along the road as fast as he could run and crying; but soon he met a neighbor who stopped him and asked what was the matter, and Stover told him he killed a man up the road. The man asked him how it was done and he related the circumstances and said he hit him with his fist. The old gentleman said, "Come back and we will see about it."

They went back and found the man still lying on the ground unconscious, but breathing. There was a pond near, and the old man told Stover to go to the pond and get some water in his hat; and after carrying several hat-fuls of water they revived him; and when he was able to talk, he related what had occurred the same as the boy Stover, and looking him over said he had enough.

Stover, in telling this incident, said that was the last time he ever hit any one with his closed fist; that he had had many encounters since that time, but he always struck

with his open hand as he was afraid to use his fist because he did not want to kill any one.

Another occurrence that was related to the writer by one who claimed to have been an eye witness, probably shows a greater test of actual strength than any other that is now known.

Stover was a farmer, and in that day all of the surplus of the farm had to be hauled to market at New Albany, Jeffersonville or Louisville, in wagons, usually by four-horse teams. The wagoners usually carried their own feed and provisions and when they reached the city they would put up at what was called a wagon yard. Stover frequently went on these trips while a young man as well as in after years. On one occasion, when Stover was about twenty-one years of age, with those in whose company he had made the trip, he stopped at a yard in Portland, now a part of Louisville. These yards were infested by river gamblers and Stover liked to play cards. He was well known as he had often been there and had always held his own at the games, even with those card sharks. On this occasion, some of his friends found out that they had made up a conspiracy to get him in a game and if he was winning, to start a row and do him up, so they warned Stover and told him not to be drawn in the game that evening, but Stover said nothing. After supper, while the camp fires were still burning, they discovered Stover sitting on his wagon tongue, which he had taken loose from the wagon, and in the midst of a game with the gang. The friends gathered around to see that no advantage should be taken of the "boy." The game proceeded and Stover raked in the pot, when one of the players accused him of cheating. This brought all to their feet at once, and the friends noticed that Stover held

the breast chains at the end of his wagon tongue with the fingers of one hand through the rings. The lie was passed and then action begun. Stover sprang away from the crowd, jerked the heavy wagon tongue clear of the ground and began swinging it around him with the one hand, like a boy would swing a "whistling dick" at the end of a "string," and making it sing equally as loud. The would-be attackers stood off and looked with amazement. Stover tauntingly called out, "You want to lick me do you? Well come on, swim in here, my little fishes, if you want to be caught"—all the time swinging the heavy tongue with the one hand, never once letting it touch the ground. But they were satisfied that it was best—for them—to postpone action.

When we take into account that the wagon tongue was made of oak or hickory, ten feet or more long, about three by five inches at one end and tapering gradually to about three inches square at the other end, to which chains three or more feet long were attached, and that Stover had hold of the extreme end of the chains with one hand only, we may be able to form some slight conception of the immense strength required to swing it clear of the ground and with such speed that it remained in the air as long as the motion was kept up. After this display, there was no more seeking a contest with the young giant.

A man by the name of John Brough married Stover's daughter. Brough was in the giant class, and concluded he wanted to measure strength with "the old man." Stover finally consented. They met according to terms, when Stover threw Brough over his head and in the fall he broke his leg. The old man remained boss of the household.

Thomas Denney, though under size, being less than six

feet tall, was considered the next in strength to Stover, and in fact Denney's friends claimed he was superior. Denney lived north of Salem and Stover south. They were great friends and frequently met in town. Their respective friends often tried to get up a match between them and finally arranged a public test in which Stover was awarded the decision. They afterwards had several tests in private, but would not talk about it. After one of them, Stover was asked who won. He said "Denney is a good man and can hit mighty hard," and no further information could be obtained.

Thomas Denney came from Virginia to Washington county. But I have been unable to learn from what State Abram Stover migrated. He must have been quite young when he arrived here. Many other stories are related of these men, but to rehearse all of them would make too long a story for a paper of this character. Many of them are collected in Stevens' History of the County, and are added as an appendix hereto.

James Uppinghouse and James Lee were two others in the giant class, both large men of extraordinary strength, an interesting account of whom may be found in the same history. It is not now known where they came from.

Free speaking ministers also had to sometimes fall back on the unusual strength with which they were endowed. Aaron Hubbard, a minister of the Christian church, lived at Little York in the northeast part of the county. He was a large active man, of great strength, spare and sinewy and without fear. And when preaching required all present to keep good order. On one occasion, it is related, when holding services at a country church, a large bullet-headed young man came in and noisily took a seat near the center

of the room, and at once began creating a disturbance. Hubbard remonstrated with him once or twice, but to no purpose. The minister took off his coat, asked the congregation to excuse him for a few minutes as he had a matter outside to attend to. He walked down the aisle, took the bully by the collar, lifted him out of the seat and carried him out the door. A commotion was heard outside but no one went to investigate and they soon came in together. The bully took his seat. Hubbard went to the pulpit, put on his coat and resumed the sermon where he had broken off and the services were finished without further interruption.

Many other stories of similar character are told of Mr. Hubbard, but this one shows his character, and it is said that all seeking trouble at church services, made sure that Aaron Hubbard was not present before they started anything.

While slavery was not tolerated in Indiana, there were many in this locality in sympathy with the institution. Hubbard is said to have donated the ground upon which the church at his place was located and practically paid most of the cost of construction. He spoke strongly against human slavery and once, after an unusually strong sermon in the church on the subject, some of the members took exceptions, and proposed to procure another minister. Hubbard said nothing until he learned who the objectors were and then at the next service, most of them being present, he brought the subject up, and he was told that they had concluded to procure another minister whose views more nearly agreed with their own and they would dispense with his services in that house. He said they were welcome to engage any other minister they might select,

but he would continue services in the house; that the house stood on his ground, that he had paid all but a small portion of the cost of construction and had preached without compensation to speak of. Then said, "Now, brethren if you are dissatisfied with my preaching, you can cut off in one corner, the small portion of the house that your contributions represent, procure your minister and hold services in your portion of the house without interruption from me, but I will continue to preach the WORD OF GOD from the pulpit. That ended the controversy. He was called "The fighting parson."

William Cravens was born in Virginia and grew up to be a man of great size and strength and is said to have been a great "scrapper" in his young days. But in early manhood he joined the Methodist church and soon became the leading minister in his locality. He abhorred the institution of slavery and is said to have often condemned it in his public sermons delivered in Virginia, which made him unpopular.

On one occasion, after a vigorous sermon on the subject, some of his congregation took him to task and demanded that he publically apologize for his act, which he readily agreed to do and the time and place for such apology was agreed upon and duly advertised. Mr. Cravens was promptly on hand and took the pulpit and the house was packed to the limit, and while he duly apologized for the former sermon the apology was by far a severer arraignment of the institution than the sermon had been. After the conclusion of the services, the men of the congregation gathered in groups to discuss it and one of them remarked in rather a loud tone, that he ought to be horsewhipped. Cravens overheard the remark, as was probably intended, and going up to the group, seized hold of a small tree and

gave such an exhibition of bodily strength as to astonish all who witnessed it, and then turning to the speaker, said, "The Lord did not give me such strength to allow myself to be horsewhipped by a slaveholder." That ended the controversy. He afterward moved to Indiana and continued in the ministry and in those rough and strenuous times, his vigorous and unmeasured condemnation of error and some of the customs of the time, frequently necessitated him to call on the immense reserve strength with which he had been so generously endowed. But in Indiana he was at all times highly respected, not only by the church people, but also by those whom he arraigned most severely. He was commonly termed "The fighting Methodist."

Four brothers, John, James, Hugh and William Rodman, emigrated from Pennsylvania to Kentucky, where John located, but his three brothers came to Washington county, Indiana, in the early days of its history. John Rodman was the grandfather of Admiral Hugh Rodman, now of the United States Navy, and James was the father of General Thomas Jackson Rodman, who invented the one-time famous Rodman gun.

Doctor A. W. King, now of Redlands, California, to whom I am indebted for much that is contained in this paper, and who knew the three brothers, James, Hugh and William, describes them as physical giants, six and a half feet high and weighing fully two hundred and fifty pounds, well proportioned and unusually fine looking men.

William lived in Salem and operated a mill. He had fair business ability and was an earnest, consistent member of the Presbyterian church and a model citizen.

Hugh was in every way the equal of his brothers, both in size and strength. He lived on a farm, and frequently

hauled produce to the city markets with a four or five-horse team. It is said of him, on these occasions, that when loading his wagon, to determine if he had a sufficient or too much load for his team, he would back up to one of the hind wheels, take hold of a spoke on each side of the hub and if he could raise the wheel clear of the ground his team would be able to pull it through, but if he was unable to lift the wheel, he would unload a part, as it was too heavy for the team. Some lift.

On one occasion when going to market with more than one wagon, he had a boy driving the one in front. They came upon some other teamsters who had stopped for dinner. They had driven their wagons to the side of the road but had built their fire in the middle of the road and were sitting around it, four in number. There was not room to pass around them and the boy stopped and asked them to allow him to pass, which they refused. Rodman then came forward and made the same request. They again refused to move. He then said to them, "Gentlemen, I will again ask you to move out of the road so we can pass, and if you do not do it, I will move you." They dared him to attempt it. Thereupon he picked one of them up without any apparent effort and threw him to the side of the road and as the others arose knocked them down in turn. He again asked them to clear the road, which they promptly did, and Rodman went on his way with his teams. He, like his brothers, was a good citizen and did not seek trouble nor occasions to display his strength.

James Rodman was, perhaps, the more aggressive of the three brothers, but notwithstanding his size and strength, was a good citizen. He was a prominent and influential member of the Democratic party and of the Baptist church.

Once in a crowd, a small man took offense at something Rodman had said and pitched into him with a shower of harmless blows. This Rodman endured good naturedly until it became annoying, when he picked the little fellow up and tossed him astride the crotch of a small walnut tree near by.

George Housh was one of the large men even in that day of giants, perhaps the equal of James Rodman in stature, not fleshy but bony and muscular. A regular athlete and a great wrestler. Doctor King says of him:

"I remember a wrestling match between him and James Rodman on election day. They adopted 'side holts' and it was long in doubt which would win. But finally Rodman, who was a Sampson as well as a Goliath, got Housh on his hip, swinging him over his head, threw him on his back with a thud."

Andrew Housh, a brother of George, was perhaps, his equal in size and strength, "but in no sense a sport," but a zealous churchman. He was a tanner by trade. He owned and operated a grist mill on the north bank of Muscackituck river, at Millport. The power being supplied by a partnership dam across the river owned by him and John DePauw, who had a mill on the south bank. He was also an exhorter and a "jack leg lawyer," practicing in petty cases before justices of the peace.

According to Doctor King and as the following incidents will show, "he had no mercy on the King's English."

At one time attempting to quote from the State constitution, "No ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, shall ever be passed, "he had it, "The legislature shall make no ipso facto or other law to nulificate or impair the vandility of contracts."

At another time when defending a poor boy who had been indentured during minority to a farmer and had run away because of ill treatment, Housh, in his argument said, "I often saw the boy at work in the field, in the boiling sun, the pouring rain and the fleecing snow, poorly clad in sackcloth and raiment and he appeared to be in indignant circumstances."

At an infare dinner in passing the viands to the guests, he observed "They are most melodious."

He complimented a lady who was showing him the flowers in her garden on her "beautiful artificials."

Once in prayer meeting when pleading for charity for some offenders he said, "Men are all prone to faculties and infallibilities."

At times he also seemed as careless of the facts as he was with the language. Speaking of a sudden freeze at an early day he said, "A bunch of wild horses that were fighting flies on the hillside, became frightened and ran down the hill and all fell down on the ice on my mill pond and I captured all of them."

Some one suggested that it was not usual to have ice in fly time, but he was equal to the occasion and responded, "By gracious, the pond froze solid in five minutes and it began to freeze at the bottom."

A large sycamore log lodged on his mill dam and afterward, in telling of it he said, "It weighed a million tons and it was all I could do to pry it off with a hand spike."

But notwithstanding his "faculties and infallibilities and multitudinous ponderosities" he was kind hearted and generous to a fault.

Micajah Callaway, Sr., came from Virginia to Kentucky with Daniel Boone where he continued as Boone's most

trusted companion until Boone left Kentucky, when he came to Washington county and lived a quiet life until his death. His feats and history are so fully set out in the Life of Boone that it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

Marston G. Clark, also of Virginia, was also an Indian fighter, and a surveyor. It is said that in his early surveys he used a grape vine instead of a chain.

At one time in the woods near his residence, he met a young man with a new gun, that attracted his attention. They were near a small dead tree that had been so charred by fire that it was covered with black charcoal from top to bottom. Clark asked to examine the gun. The young man handed it to him and after having inspected it he said to the young man, "I will now teach you a lesson you should never forget. Climb that stump."

The fellow took one look at Clark and up the black stump he went and when he came down Clark said, "The lesson I wished to impress on your mind is, never hand your loaded gun to a stranger in the woods," and handed the gun back to him.

The man took the gun, backed off a few steps, threw it to his shoulder and leveled it on Clark saying, "The lesson is a good one, but you seem to have forgotten it as soon as imparted, and now to impress its importance on you, you climb that stump." Clark cast one glance at the eye looking at him through the sights of the gun, and realizing he was caught in his own trap, proceeded to go up the stump as directed. When he came down he said, "We are even and I rather like you. I live in that house over there. Come with me and we will have dinner." When the man seemed to hesitate, Clark said the rule does not hold good in a man's house with his invited guests whom it is his duty to

protect. They went to dinner together, and were always friends afterward.

Henry Baker, who came from North Carolina, was a man of great size and strength. Being forced to defend himself against an enraged drunken man, he is said to have struck the fellow a blow with his fist on the body and killed him almost instantly.

Pritchard Morris, and his brother, Jehosaphat Morris, Sr., also from North Carolina, would measure up in stature with others named. At one time when there was a gathering to erect a log house, Pritchard being present, they had put up the rafters before dinner and after dinner, as usual on such occasions, there were trials of strength.

Prichard Morris had climbed on the building where the next work was to be done and sat watching those engaged in these feats. Finally he said, "Boys I will show you something to try." He then grasped a rafter with his hands on each side of him, dropped his body between them, hanging suspended by his hands, he worked his way up to the peak of the rafters and down the other side without resting. Taking his seat he said, "When any of you can do that I will show you something else." But none was able to match him.

When we take into account that Morris weighed more than two hundred pounds and that the rafters were probably near three feet apart we may be able to form some conception of the effort.

But we can not give incidents as to all of the men who measured up to the standard and will only give the names of many with the States from which they came so far as known. George Hattabaugh, Virginia; Col. Henry Dewalt, Pennsylvania, and Col. Ezekiel D. Logan, Kentucky, who

organized and led the forces who pursued the Pigeon Roost Indians; Robert Strain, David Vance, William and Elisha Hobbs, brothers from North Carolina; James Young, Sr., Garrett W. Logan, Kentucky; Alexander, Benjamin and Samuel Huston, brothers, from Kentucky; Henry Wyman, George Madison, Aaron and Jacob Short, from North Carolina. They were not, as their name would indicate, short, but long and large. Madison, whose name was mentioned at the beginning of this paper and in connection with Abram Stover, is said to have originated the name Hoosier, as applied to the people of Indiana.

As the story goes, he was working on the canal at Louisville and one day, being victorious in a strenuous fistic contest with three of the other laborers, he jumped up shaking his fist and said: "You do not want to tackle me, I'm a Hoosher (Husher). But those who heard him got it Hoosier and ever after they called all men from Indiana, Hoosiers. True or not, the story is characteristic of the times and people.

Then there was Septemus Goodwin, commonly called September Goodwin, Jesse Stanley, Sr., James Coffin, North Carolina, Christian Prow, Sr., Godlove Kemp, associate judge; George May, Sr., John Curry, Sr., David Dennis, Rhode Island; Abram Fleenor, John Aton, Adam Barnett, Capt. Zephaniah Johnson, John Rowland, and many others whose names have not been procured.

Daniel Soliday, who lived in the north part of the county, was killed by the Indians. He was a man of great stature and strength. He would never carry a gun for protection against the Indians, saying that he did not fear any Indian in anything like a fair contest. He had gone out in the morning to look for stock and not returning, search was

made. At the point where his body was found there was every evidence of a fierce struggle. It appeared there had been several of the Indians and that they had ambushed Soliday. But how much the Indians had suffered was never known as they always carried off the dead and wounded when possible.

Jacob Soliday was perhaps the equal of his brother, but always took his gun with him. He was killed, presumably by the same party of Indians. He, too, had gone in search of stock and when they found his body, there was no doubt that he had put up a strong fight. The stock of his gun was broken. The charge had been fired and the barrel was bent and in his clinched hand he held the scalp lock of one of the Indians which he had evidently torn from the head of one of his adversaries. So there could be no doubt that one at least had suffered severely in the encounter.

The Indians were pursued as soon as a force could be organized but they were not overtaken, it having taken too long to get the men together in that thinly settled community where the first consideration was to get the women and children to a place of safety while the men were gone.

John Zink, Kentucky, was a young man of great size. He joined the forces that went in pursuit of the Pigeon Roost Indians, and with one of his companions, came up with some of them in what is now Bartholomew county, where Zink was wounded by a shot through the hips, which rendered his lower limbs useless. His companion helped him to cover and then went for assistance. On returning later, Zink was not there, but they followed a trail and came upon Zink something like a mile away. He had dragged himself by his hands, grasping bushes, roots and anything he could get hold of, but still alive. They con-

structed a litter and placed him on it and started back, arriving at a spring where Vallonia now stands, late in the afternoon and went into camp for the night, where Zink died during the night. The body was brought to Salem and buried on the farm now owned by Howard Brown, just north of town.

Henry C. Munroe will be the last one in this class of giant early settlers that I shall mention. And I do not know how better to describe him than in the words of Dr. A. W. King, who speaks from memory. So to quote Doctor King:

"Henry C. Munroe, a rock-rooted wheel horse of the Democratic party, was at one time a member of the legislature. He was a man of large stature, strong and muscular, a prosperous farmer in the (barrens) west of Salem.

"After the election of 1844, he watched closely for the result. One night he was awakened by the booming of the cannon (anvil) at Salem, and thinking it announced the triumph of President Polk, he called up his wife and Jake, armed them with boards and himself with his blunderbuss. At every report of the cannon he would fire his fuzee—his wife would strike a ringing blow on the barn and Jake a strenuous blow in the hard road. After a few rounds the colonel called a halt. 'Stop old woman, stop Jake. Maybe we are too fast—that is to say—maybe it's the other fellow that's elected.' But his heart was made happy next day on getting the news."

So we see that life among these men was not all play. They took an active interest in affairs and passing events. They were mostly good and active business men, and took the political questions as seriously as we do in the day of universal suffrage.

The writer has in his possession a letter, dated January 7, 1831, written by John Rodman from the senate chamber at Frankfort, Ky., to a resident of Salem. From the words of the letter, I judge Rodman was a member of that body. He describes an effort of the legislature to elect a United States senator. The contest was between what he terms the Clay men and the Jackson men. After sixteen ballots, having failed to make a choice, by resolution, they postponed the election for the session.

Politics with these men in their day was evidently not very different from the present time.

These men, while of giant size and strength, were among the very best citizens and would have been a credit to any community in any time. Their sources of amusements were few, aside from the trials of strength and physical skill and they evidently made the best of their opportunities along their limited lines.

Yet they subdued the wilderness, fought wild beasts and savage men; cleared the unbroken forest, established homes for themselves and families; built school houses and organized and maintained churches and made the waste places fit for the habitation of civilized man.

What a pity these memoirs had not have been begun and not only begun but completed fifty years ago, while most of these remarkable men were living and the events fresh in their memories. We now get at these events more as traditions than as facts of history. But in the preparation of this paper I have received the hearty co-operation and assistance of Dr. A. W. King, of Redlands, Calif., whose life span covers the period in which these men lived to the present time, and whose wonderful recollection of names and events has been of invaluable assistance.

The most of these early pioneers were men grown when they came to this county. They had attained their unusual stature and development before they arrived here, and this fact opens an interesting field for investigation. So far as it has been possible to obtain the facts, I have given the States from which they came. But in that day, the conditions of life were very much the same in all newly settled localities, and it is a well established fact, that the pioneers of this country, as a class, usually make at least two moves as the frontier receded, before they finally established themselves. And a large portion of their descendants followed in the foot-steps of their fathers.

It is not claimed by the writer, that this account gives the names of all of the men of that day, that might rightfully be classed as giants. In fact such would be an impossibility in the short time I have employed in the preparation of this paper. And then such a compilation would make a book of large size, too lengthy for an article of this character. The names here set out are only claimed to represent a very few of the early inhabitants who were entitled to a place by the side of those mentioned.

But now we must leave these early pioneers and pass on to the next generation. For the race has not died out.

PART II

SECOND GENERATION

"Like father, like son" is as true of races of men as it is of other characteristics. And by following along our line of investigation, we find the type of men of which we are writing, continues through the second generation.

While it is probably as difficult to classify them as to the age in which they lived, or the generation to which they should be assigned, as it is to determine the dividing line between an ordinary man and the giant, I shall assign them to the class of the period in which they lived the greater part of their lives. Many of those whose names will appear in this class came to the county as children with their parents, some of whom are named in the preceding pages. Nor is this intended to be a list of all who might be mentioned, but just a very few whose names the writer can call to mind of his former acquaintances. All of whom, like those in Part I, have passed over to the beyond. Nor shall I devote much time or space to illustrations of trials of strength as these forms of amusement seem to have passed with the first generation. But they shall be measured as to stature by the same rule as the former, and we will find that they measure well up to the former standard.

Horace and Delos Heffren, brothers, natives of New York State, were both well over six feet. Horace was a lawyer and weighed more than four hundred pounds, and was, perhaps, the largest man in the county at that time.

Thomas J., John and James Harvey Rodman, sons of James Rodman, mentioned in Part I.

Gen. Thomas J. Rodman was the inventor of the one-time famous Rodman Gun; an improvement in the manner of putting up artillery powder; and many other things used by the army. The writer was recently told by one who says he saw the exhibition, that one time when the general was visiting his brothers here, he gave an exhibition of a small machine, or repeating gun, that he held in his hands and fired twenty shots in less than a minute, hitting the target each time. Jasper N. Rodman, son of Hugh, heretofore mentioned, Hy. Peck, Caleb W. Morris, Noble Callaway and James H. Callaway, sons of Micajah Callaway, Sr., Richard Hix, Lewis N. Smith, Sr., Charles W. Mobley, John, George, Caleb, Harry and Christian L. Paynter, brothers. John Paynter was in great demand as a young man, to take charge of unruly schools, where the selected teacher was unable to control them, and on account of his great size and strength, he always succeeded. Robert, Alfred and Brad Uppinghouse, brothers. Alfred Uppinghouse, one time went to one of his neighbors, more than half a mile away, to borrow a plow. He went on foot across the fields and when he made the request, the neighbor said yes, and pointed to the plow and asked him when he wanted it. It was a large two-horse plow. He replied, "I will take it now." He was asked how he intended to get it home. He simply reached down, took the plow by the beam with one hand, put it on his shoulder and walked off with it and carried it home, crossing three high rail fences which he climbed without setting the plow down or stopping to rest.

Milas and James Young, Jr., who with Isaac Gordon were

mighty hunters either with gun or rocks. Like the left handed Benjaminites, they could throw a rock to "a hair's breadth and never miss."

It is related of Milas Young that he could stand in front of the hotel at the southeast corner of the public square in Salem, and throw a silver dollar and land on the West Market street bridge every time. A distance of more than two and a half squares, with buildings intervening.

Cam. and Reuben Medlock, brothers. Cam. was a great sprinter, and fox hunter. One day a neighbor heard some hounds and pretty soon a red fox came loping along pretty well tired out with Cam. Medlock right after him reaching for his brush. And shortly the hounds appeared looking as weary as the fox, but Cam. seemed as fresh as ever.

(Whether he caught the fox, deponent saith not.)

William Hattabaugh, commonly called "Mallet" on account of the unusual size of his fists and his ability to hit hard. Joseph Denney, William and George Weston, brothers, Harrison and Joel Denney, brothers. Robert Tatlock would not probably measure up to the full standard in height, but what he lacked in stature, he could make up in strength. He was a farmer and one time he was shifting some mules from one inclosure to another, and they all passed through the opening but one, about two years old, which, mule like, seemed to wish to go out every place except where the inclosure was open, and in its rounds passed near Tatlock, who caught it and in some manner threw it over the fence.

Christian Prow, Jr., Martin Souder, John C. Lawler, Eli Elrod, Benjamin Luck, William G. Jamison, Lewis Shanks, Moses Shrum, Virginia, Isaac H. Hiestand, Townsend Cutshaw, Stephen D. Sayles, John Spigler, Jehosaphat M.

Morris, Jr., David Cadwalader, a merchant in Salem. It is said that one time he was needing some goods and roads were so muddy that he could procure no conveyance and he started afoot for the city, thirty-five miles away, made his purchases and returned home before night.

In addition to those named, were the following of unusual height but lighter build: Dr. Harvey D. Henderson, Olive Stanley, George Clark, Philbert Marion Wright, Elwood and Thomas Trueblood and David M. Alspaugh.

But why extend the list? Any community could have furnished its full quota of men that would have measured up to the standard, whose names we have not mentioned.

PART III

OUR OWN TIME

And still the show goes on. All of the men whose names have been heretofore recorded in this paper, have passed away. But the cast is still well filled with characters that fully measure up to the standards established by their predecessors, without any diminution in numbers. And as noticed in the preceding class, the incidents illustrative of the possession of unusual strength grow fewer.

The names that I shall mention in this part, with perhaps two exceptions, are those of men still living, but all belong to the same age as applied to the races of men. Two or three grew to mature manhood in the county, but have since moved to other localities. But the names will be few, not because their numbers are few, but because I deem it unnecessary to extend this paper for the sole purpose of mentioning names.

We have first, George, Frank and Charles Morris, brothers, and Matthew, William and Augustus Markland, brothers. Two very remarkable families, in size, appearance, intelligence and business capacity, Alexander Brock, Commodore Dawalt, James B. Dawalt, John H. House. Benjamin F. Trueblood, Flanders and Claborne Denney, brothers; Jacob Williams, Harry Barnett, Dr. Spencer Smith, Volney Shull and many others.

Jacob Williams is first of all, being seven feet, three and one-half inches, well proportioned and a farmer by occupation.

Henry W. Medlock, the long-time well known marshal

of Salem, would not measure up in stature with the others, but notwithstanding this undersize, he was capable of holding his own, as was shown by his long and turbulent experience as marshal with the best of them and proved more than a match for all of the would-be bad men who sought so often "to paint the town red" during the early years of his official life.

He was a man about five feet, ten inches high, heavy built and would weigh about one hundred and eighty pounds. But I will give but one instance of his numerous contests with violators of the laws who attempted to resist arrest. And this one came under the personal observation of the writer. Medlock, unlike the proverbial police officer that is always absent when most needed, seemed always to be on hand when his services were called for.

One summer day a man by the name of Hamilton, from the east part of the county came to town, as he said, for the express purpose of "doing the marshal." He was fully six feet tall, well and heavily built and was the equal of the marshal in weight. A fine looking fellow and one that would have been picked out of crowds as an athlete. The marshal had arrested him some time before for some infraction and on this occasion he said that it was the last time. He was somewhat under the influence of liquor, and after making his boast, left the parties to whom he was talking and started across the street to look for his "Whiskers" as the marshal was called.

Before he got quite across the street he came face to face with the object of his search. They both stopped a few feet apart. Hamilton reached for his gun but instantly the marshal was upon him and beat him to it, taking the gun out of his pocket and putting it in his own. Hamilton

closed in and they clinched and soon went down in the street. But it did not take many minutes, with the heavy marshal sitting on his breast and gripping his throat with a hold that could not be broken, to cause an unconditional surrender which was accepted and the marshal arose. But it seemed that Hamilton would not get up. The marshal tapped his feet a time or two with his billy but that had no effect. So he put up his club, bent over, took Hamilton around the middle, threw him over his shoulder and walked off with him to the justice's office. Hamilton afterwards said to the writer, in speaking of this occurrence, "Whiskers can arrest me any time in the future without trouble. For I know when I'm licked." The foregoing is but one of the numerous contests with violators of the law who attempted to resist arrest by the marshal. Well might he be properly called "The little giant."

But the men of this day are not ALL giants. In contrast with the seven feet, three and a half inches of Jacob Williams, is a healthy, good looking, well proportioned man but little over five feet. As a boy, he was able to hold his own in the strenuous, rough and tumble life of the average American boy and is now a quiet and active business man.

But why continue to mention names of men who might, with equal propriety, be classed with those whose names I have given?

Those whom I have mentioned are sufficient for the purposes of this paper, and what is true of the localities in which they respectively reside, is also true of the entire county. And what is true of this county is also true of a large portion of the counties of the State.

Any one who will take notice, even to day, will be very forcibly struck with the large number of good looking,

well proportioned men in any gathering, or that he will see passing along the streets, who are from five feet ten to six feet two inches in height. The most of these men he will find are natives of the locality. Is this modern, or is it a native characteristic of the race or the American type?

It is a well established fact that American men average taller than those of any other country, but have, as yet no means of knowing whether these tall men confined to certain localities or whether it is general with our people. But when we take into account the restless disposition of our people and that they are constantly shifting their habitations, it would seem that we must conclude that they are pretty evenly distributed, in the absence of reliable statistics.

Measurements of the soldiers of the Civil war indicate taller men in certain regions, but these may not be sufficient to form a correct basis from which to determine the question, although they were sufficient to form the basis for an investigation.

When the statistics and measurements of the men called for examination in the late war are fully compiled and classified, showing as they do not only the measurements, but also the nativity and the then habitation, we will have the facts upon which to base an investigation of these interesting questions and from which to draw pretty definite conclusions. And what a field for investigation it will open up.

APPENDIX "A"

Since the foregoing paper was prepared, it has been suggested to the writer that some readers might seriously question the accuracy of the estimates of the stature and size of the many men whose names have been mentioned. Of course there is now no way of verifying the statements as to all of the men named in parts I and II, but as to part III I think I can offer ample proof that my estimates were not over drawn.

I enlisted the services of Dr. Claude B. Paynter, of Salem, who made most of the measurements in the selective draft for the World war, and we took the measurements of the first twenty-one men of six feet or more, that we could get at a time when the doctor could make the measurements, and I append the list with the doctor's measurements and the weights. The names of eight of these men are set out in the foregoing paper in Part III, the remainder of them have not been mentioned heretofore.

All but five of them have passed the age of maturity—thirty years—and the ages of these five are given with the other data as to them.

They are all natives of the county and all still reside in the county, except three, viz: George, Fred and John Morris, and they grew to manhood here and recently went to other localities, and their names are set out here because they are a part of a family of five brothers, all over six feet.

The list of names will also bear out the statement of the writer that the men whose names are set out in Part III, are but a small part of those who might have been given. And still there are many others that might be added to the

list if we would take the time and trouble to get them and the doctor together for the measurements. But this we deem unnecessary as it was not intended to name all of the class in Part III, and will only submit the following list:

Name	Height	Weight	Age
George Morris	6-1'	205	
Frank Morris	6-2'	270	
Charles Morris	6-1'	215	
John Morris	6-6'	235	
Fred Morris	6-2'	210	
Matthew Markland	6-4'	240	
William Markland	6-2'	210	
Augustus Markland	6-4½'	265	
Flanders Denney	6-2'	172	
Claborne Denney	6-2'	170	
Silas Shull	6-4'	220	
Albert Newby	6-1¼'	250	
Elbert Smith	6-1'	225	
Ruble May	6	200	
Lawrence W. Paynter	6	215	
Richard Green	6-5½'	255	
Vance Spangler	6	160	20
Tony Markland	6-3'	160	21
Willie Wilson	6-6'	185	24
Frank Rodman	6-1'	175	24
Charles Gorman	6	165	23

APPENDIX "B" (Gould Statistics)

Extracts from "Investigations in the Military and Anthropological Statistics of American Soldiers, by Benjamin Apthorp Gould, Actuary to the U. S. Sanitary Commission, in the Civil War.

(P. 118) The height of full-grown man (Note. From his data, Doctor Gould assumes that the average man does not attain full growth until the age of 31) has been the subject of as wide a diversity of statement, and seems as completely undetermined even for any one nationality, as

the law of growth by which it is attained. Among the values given by the principal investigators within the author's knowledge, the following may be cited, all the numbers being here reduced to centimeters and to English (American) inches.

	Centimeters	Inches
Buffon (mean value)	169.2	66.60
Tenon, from 60 men between the ages of 25 and 45, measured at Massy	166.5	65.55
Quetelet, from 900 men enrolled for draft at Brussels	168.41	66.30
Quetelet, from 9,500 Belgian militia (province of Brabant)	163.80	64.49
Quetelet, from 69 convicts at the penitentiary of Vilvorde	166.40	65.51
Hargenvilliers, from French conscripts (20 years old)	161.50	63.58
Quetelet, from 80 students at Cambridge, England (measured in shoes)	174.21	68.60
Forbes, from Scotch students at Edinburgh (in shoes)	173.45	68.30
Silbermann, from 559 conscripts in one Paris arrondissement	164.34	64.70
Carus, "Proportionslehre"	171.20	67.40
Schadow, from his own measures	172.60	67.96
Zeising, from his own measures and Quetelets	173.	68.11
Lihartzik, from 300 selected men in Vienna	175.	68.90
Danson, from 733 Liverpool prisoners, aged 25 and upwards	168.80	66.46

Coolidge*, mean of 100 U. S. soldiers, natives of—

Indiana	175.58	69.125
Kentucky	175.96	69.275
Ohio	175.37	69.044
Tennessee	176.11	69.335
Maine	174.69	68.777
Vermont and New Hampshire	173.58	68.341
Massachusetts and Connecticut	173.19	68.185
North Carolina	176.22	69.377
Georgia	177.61	69.926
South Carolina	175.90	69.275

*Statistical Report on Sickness and Mortality of U. S. Army, years 1840-56, p 633. The measurements were of 100 soldiers, taken at random, in the order of entry on the Adjutant General's books, from each of 18 states. Recruits were not accepted under 65 inches at the time. For discussion see Hammond's "Military Hygiene," p. 29.)

Alabama	175.71	69.176
Virginia	175.22	68.986
New York	172.23	67.806
Pennsylvania	172.99	68.107
New Jersey and Delaware	172.24	67.811
Maryland	174.13	68.556
Illinois	175.85	69.235
Missouri	174.23	68.594

Another of Coolidge's tables gives a striking statement of the proportion of each 100 who were over 6 feet tall. Of 1,000 men measured in the British army, only 65 were 6 feet tall or more, and in the French army only 4. Of the 1,800 American soldiers, 241 were 6 feet tall or more, or over 133 to 1,000, the record by states being as follows:

	No. over 6 feet	Greatest stature	
Indiana	18	6 feet	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
Kentucky	18	6 feet	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Ohio	15	6 feet	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Tennessee	18	6 feet	3 in.
Maine	11	6 feet	2 in.
Vermont and New Hampshire	6	6 feet	1 in.
Massachusetts and Connecticut	5	6 feet	3 in.
North Carolina	24	6 feet	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Georgia	30	6 feet	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
South Carolina	15	6 feet	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Alabama	17	6 feet	4 in.
Virginia	15	6 feet	2 in.
New York	4	6 feet	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Pennsylvania	5	6 feet	1 in.
New Jersey and Delaware	6	6 feet	1 in.
Maryland	9	6 feet	2 in.
Illinois	17	6 feet	3 in.
Missouri	8	6 feet	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

The exceeding wide range of these data can scarcely be accounted for by any one influence. Nor, indeed, are the means afforded in most cases for determining to what extent the variations are fortuitous, and in what measure they are due to differences in the classes of men under consideration, or how far they may be dependent upon the employment of different limits of age, in those cases where limits were regarded.

Even for our vastly more copious statistics, the age for which the corresponding mean heights may be properly used in determining the full stature of the average man, remains somewhat uncertain. It seems to be shown by the present investigation that these ages differ greatly for different nationalities, and even for different classes of the same people. The suggestion of Villermé that the stature is greater, and the growth sooner completed, all other things being equal, in proportion as the country is richer, and the comfort of its inhabitants more general, seemed from his data quite plausible; but it is not supported as a general law by the information here collected. It was based upon the hypothesis "that misery, that is to say the circumstances which accompany it, diminishes the stature and retards the epoch of complete development of the body." Misery, in its here intended sense of excessive poverty, affecting the supply of nutriment, physical protection from the weather, and needful rest, hardly exists in the United States; yet the epoch of full development appears to be later in this than in any other country. The fact, however, that privations or exposure will "stunt" or prevent the attainment of normal height is beyond question and appears to explain the results obtained for sailors, as will be mentioned hereafter.

Here follow a number of tables giving measurements, by ages and nativities, of 1,232,256 men, of whom 1,104,841 were white soldiers, 83,800 white sailors, 39,615 colored soldiers, and 4,000 colored sailors. From these Dr. Gould reaches his conclusions that the age of full stature in the United States is 30 years, and that "the well-known phenomenon of a decrease in height after the age of forty-five or fifty years exerts but a small influence."

FULL STATURES, BY NATIVITY

Men in Union Army and Navy, 31 years of age and up.

Nativity	No. measured	Inches	Cen- timeters
New England	33,783	68.319	173.63
New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania..	61,351	68.109	173.00
Ohio and Indiana	34,206	68.971	175.19
Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois	4,570	68.865	174.86
Slave States, except Kentucky and Tennessee	13,409	68.843	174.86
Kentucky and Tennessee	12,862	69.300	176.02
British Provinces	6,667	67.551	171.58
England	8,899	66.993	170.16
Scotland	3,478	67.579	171.65
Ireland	24,149	67.138	170.53
France, Belgium and Switzerland	3,739	66.697	169.41
Germany	32,559	66.739	169.51
Scandinavia	3,790	67.461	171.35
Spain and Miscellaneous	4,421	66.766	169.58

A comparison of these values can hardly fail to suggest the suspicion that the full stature for a given nativity may be different in the different States, and this is strongly corroborated by the comparison of the special nativity tables made for the men of each several States. Indeed the evidence thus obtained falls but little short of demonstration.

Here follow several tables. Table XII gives stature of natives of New England who enlisted in New England, as compared with natives of New England who enlisted in the western States, and showing an excess of stature for the latter at every age except 18 years, the average excess for all being .19 inches. Table XIII gives a similar comparison for natives of New York, with like results, the average excess of stature of those who enlisted in the west being .49 inches. Table XIV shows the stature of natives of Ireland and Germany by place of enlistment, showing that those of both nationalities who enlisted in Indiana averaged taller than those from any other State except Missouri, the average being 67.268 for the Irish from Indiana, and 67.584 for those from Missouri: and 66.842 for the Germans from Indiana, and 66.965 for those from Missouri.

The adjoining States of Ohio and Indiana have in general been considered together in these investigations, as

"Nativity C." Circumstances led, however, to the separation of the natives of these two States during the assortment of about two-thirds of the Indiana soldiers. This has made it possible to give the figures for these soldiers in the last table; and here also a comparison of the results, obtained from the groups separately, illustrates the same principle which is manifested by our other statistics. The relative smallness of the difference between the statures of natives of these two States might reasonably be supposed to elude detection under the circumstances, yet for the mean heights we find.

STATURES OF NATIVES OF OHIO AND INDIANA ENLISTING IN INDIANA

Age		Under 21	21-23	24-26	27-30	31-34	35-up.
Natives of Ind.	Number	.....18,248	9,200	4,900	3,784	2,017	2,239
	Height	.....67.424	68.628	68.774	68.891	69.095	68.929
Natives of Ohio	Number	.....4,962	3,341	2,204	1,930	1,287	1,882
	Height	.....67.263	68.456	68.614	68.668	68.865	68.787
Excess for Indiana		......161	.172	.160	.223	.230	.142

(The average height of the 4,256 Indiana men of 31 years and up, is 69.008 inches; and the average excess over the Ohio men is .17 inches.)

From these tables and other similar ones, which might be formed from our statistics, the deduction is palpable that agencies connected with the State furnishing the men to the National army produced a decided effect upon the stature, superposed upon whatever other influences may have proceeded from the particular stock from which the men sprang.

It is not difficult to form conjectures regarding the nature of these agencies. A large proportion of those enlisting in other than their native States had doubtless migrated in childhood, while their constitution, and especially their

osseous development, was readily affected by external influences. Whether these were climatic, social, or alimentary, it is perhaps premature to discuss at present. That residence in the Western States, during the years of growth, tends to produce increase of stature, seems established; and the indications are strong that the same is the case with many of the Southern states. It would moreover appear that those States which show for their natives the highest statures, are those which tend most strongly to increase the stature of those who remove thither during the period of development. The westward course of population precludes any trustworthy inferences regarding the converse of this statement. And furthermore, it is evident that the relative stature for different States follows no manifest geographical law.

The suggestion that calcareous districts, by furnishing a more abundant and continuous supply of lime for the bones while growing, promote their development, and thus tend to increase the stature, seems to afford a partial explanation for this phenomenon; but it gives by no means a complete solution of the problem, for the variations of stature are not by any means proportionate to the amounts of calcareous formations near the surface of the soil. Thus the marked differences in the average statures of the natives between Maine and New Hampshire, and between Vermont and New York, cannot be accounted for on this theory.

P. 131. We may sum up many of our general inferences regarding the full stature in a few closing sentences. That the stature of a population is not in ordinary cases affected by the temperature of the region which it inhabits, as was supposed by Buffon, may be regarded as established by the small influence which the latitude appears to exert. The

statistics here collected show how slight any such influence must be within the territory of the United States; for the differences of stature here seem altogether independent of climatic agencies, as will be perceived from a very cursory inspection of Table XI. For South America the same fact is established by the researches of D'Orbigny, who especially discards the theory with emphatic repetition. For Europe the non-dependence of stature upon latitude is too well known to require illustration, and although there is a wide diversity between the statures of the Latin and the Teutonic races, it is in the direction opposite to that which this theory implies.

That stature is not a distinctive characteristic of nationality is demonstrated with equal certainty by these statistics. Our tables XII to XV show incontestably the agency of some local influence, by exhibiting the difference in stature between men of the same stock and nativity reared in different States. The same conclusion was forced upon D'Orbigny by his South American investigations, and the statistics of conscription in France and Prussia also make this truth manifest by showing the wide diversity in the mean stature of men of the same race, and born in districts by no means remote from each other.

That the stature depends in any controlling degree upon the domestic circumstances of a population, as affected by abundance or need of the comforts of life, according to the opinion of Villermé, can scarcely be maintained after consideration of the facts here presented, although the effects of privation or exposure upon the physical growth are doubtless recognizable.

That the stature is chiefly affected by the elevation of the districts inhabited, as suggested by D'Orbigny, who

attributes the supposed inferior stature in mountainous regions to the prolonged influence of a rarefied atmosphere, seems equally untenable. Among the tallest men of Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia are the dwellers upon the slopes of the Alleghanies; the Green Mountains of Vermont furnish a race of men among the tallest in all the New England States; yet on the other hand the prairies and level fields of Indiana and Illinois afford a population of preeminent stature. The tallest men of France inhabit the slopes of the Jura.

That all the influences here considered—climate, nationality, comfort, elevation—may contribute in some measure to affect the stature is more than probable; that both ancestral and local influences are recognizable is certain. And although we cannot succeed in determining what is the chief agent, it may not be without value that we furnish evidence of what is not.

(Following this, Doctor Gould gives a number of tables and quotations as to seamen, negroes, and various races. His table shows American sailors at age of full stature ranging from 66.778 for those of New England to 67.765 for those from the northwestern States. Colored soldiers from the free States averaged 67.056, and those from the slave States 67.143. Colored sailors averaged 66.337 for the free States and 66.641 for the Slave States. Measurements of 500 Iroquois Indians showed an average full stature of 68.665 inches. The senior and junior classes at Harvard and Yale averaged from 67.467 at 17 years of age to 69.180 at 27 years. The smallest men appear to be the Eskimos, who are reported at 130 centimeters. Patagonians, who are frequently spoken of as "giants," were found by D'Orbigny to average 68.1 inches; and Doctor Gould says: "A probable explanation of the exaggerated accounts of the stature of this really tall race of men is given by D'Orbigny, who says that the breadth of their shoulders, their bare heads, and the manner in which they drape themselves from head to foot in the skins of wild animals, produce such an illusion, that his own party had attributed to them an excessive stature, before any actual comparison or measurement became possible." Of unusually tall men, Doctor Gould found 3,613 who measured 75 inches or more in those measured, and of these 598 were enlisted in Indiana. This was

the largest number of men from any one State, but the proportion in 100,000 men was smaller than for Kentucky, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Missouri. He proceeds—)

During the investigation of the correctness of the records for cases of extreme height, a very considerable number of similar cases among the earlier volunteers were brought to our knowledge; and it seems probable that the proportion of very tall men, among the troops whose descriptive musters are not on file, was at least not inferior to that among the later enlistments from which our statistics are necessarily derived.

Among our own data fifty-one cases of stature, not less than eighty inches, were recorded; but many of these were found to be erroneous on special investigation. Great exertions were made to obtain information regarding others, who are recorded as follows on the official musters:

Regiment	Height	Age	Place of Birth
Unassigned Main Infantry.....	80 in.	26	Maine
7th Vermont Infantry.....	80 in.	40	Vermont
128th New York Infantry.....	81 in.	21	Ireland
100th Ohio Infantry.....	84 in.	22	New York
169th Ohio Infantry.....	80 in.	37	Ireland
29th Indiana Infantry.....	80½ in.	20	Ohio
59th Indiana Infantry.....	83 in.	30	Indiana
59th Indiana Infantry.....	83½ in.	38	Indiana
81st Indiana Infantry.....	80½ in.	23	Indiana
89th Indiana Infantry.....	82 in.	24	Ohio
153d Indiana Infantry.....	83 in.	25	Ohio
1st Indiana Artillery.....	80 in.	31	Kentucky
31st Illinois Infantry.....	81½ in.	21	Tennessee
106th Illinois Infantry.....	83 in.	25	Illinois
109th Illinois Infantry.....	80 in.	22	Illinois
149th Illinois Infantry.....	83½ in.	18	Ohio
Unassigned Illinois Infantry.....	80 in.	18	Illinois
Unassigned Illinois Infantry.....	83 in.	20	Illinois
Unassigned Illinois Infantry.....	80 in.	20	Illinois
11th Michigan Cavalry.....	80 in.	22	New York
1st Michigan Artillery.....	81½ in.	20	Michigan
8th Wisconsin Infantry.....	80 in.	20	New York
46th Wisconsin Infantry.....	80 in.	39	Norway
46th Wisconsin Infantry.....	80 in.	39	New York
26th Missouri Infantry.....	84 in.	28	Pennsylvania

The tallest man for whose stature the testimony is complete and unimpeachable, is Lieutenant VanBuskirk, of the Twenty-seventh Indiana Infantry. General Silas Colgrove, formerly colonel of that regiment, writes that he has frequently seen him measured, and that his stature was fully eighty-two and one-half inches, without shoes, or 209 centimeters. General Colgrove adds that he was a brave man, and bore the fatigue of marching as well as most men of ordinary stature.

Corporal Ira Stout, of the Fiftieth Indiana Infantry, Company E, was twenty-four years of age, and eighty-one inches high (205.7 centimeters) at the date of his enlistment, September, 1861. He was born in Ohio county, Indiana, was a farmer by occupation, had blue eyes, light hair and fair complexion. This information is corroborated by Captain Percy Rous, his commanding officer, who states that the man was soon discharged on account of disability, and had done but little marching at the time.

Colonel Gregory, of the Twenty-ninth Indiana Infantry, has obtained for us, precise information from Captain Charles Ream, of Company K, concerning one of his men, for whom he confirms the record. The somewhat inappropriate name of this man was John Bunch; he was born in Ohio, and at his enlistment, September, 1861, was twenty years old, eighty and one-half inches tall (204.5 centimeters), by occupation a farmer, with hazel eyes, light hair, and light complexion. He was a notorious skulker, was never with the regiment in a single battle, and deserted in August, 1862. He was known in the regiment as the "United States Ramrod."

Colonel M. W. Tappan, of the First New Hampshire Infantry (three months regiment), believes our information

to be correct in the case of Joseph H. Harris, of that regiment, also eighty and one-half inches (204.5 centimeters) in height, aged twenty-six years, born in Vermont, by occupation a mechanic, eyes blue, hair brown, complexion dark.

Captain J. B. Redfield, formerly commanding Company A of the Eighth Wisconsin Volunteers, vouches for the record concerning a man in that company, Andrew J. Sanders, who was born in New York, and was, at his enlistment, twenty years old, and eighty inches (203.2 centimeters) in height.

These are the five tallest men whose cases are well identified, but only two of them, Bunch and Sanders, are included in our tables. The circumstances that three of them are from Indiana may be perhaps explained by the especially careful inquiries which were made in that State, on account of the high average stature of its inhabitants. The testimony is overwhelming that very tall men do not bear the fatigue of a campaign so well as persons of ordinary stature; that they are less capable of performing long marches, and are more frequently on the sick list at other times.

APPENDIX "C" (Baxter Statistics)

Extracts from statistics, medical and anthropological, of the Provost Marshal-General's Bureau, Washington, 1875.

In the latter part of the Civil war, the proportion of disabilities from disease occasioned precautions for stricter medical examinations for soldiers; and on January 11, 1864, the "Medical Bureau of the Provost Marshal-General's office" was organized. This took over the biometrical work, and examined 605,045 drafted men, of whom 155,730 were rejected; 225,369 volunteers, of whom 50,008 were

rejected; and 79,968 substitutes, of whom 21,125 were rejected. In 1866 an appropriation was made for compiling these statistics, which work was completed and published in 1875, under the supervision of Dr. J. H. Baxter. These figures cover in part those used by Doctor Gould, but are limited to 501,068 measurements that had "exact records," and of these 315,620 were of American-born whites.

Doctor Baxter added a large amount of information as to statistics of other countries, and especially as to the minimum stature prescribed for soldiers. This has varied at different times. The lowest recorded for the ancient Romans was sixty-three inches, of our measure; but under the Emperor Valentinian, the minimum was raised to 65.55 inches, and the soldiers of the First Legionary Cohort were required to be at least 70.3 inches. In France, Louis XIV ordained a minimum of 63.938 inches. During the Napoleonic wars this was dropped to 60.788, and after slight changes, was fixed by law in 1872, at 60.631. In the United States, the minimum was established in 1790 at sixty-six inches, and has usually been near that, though it was dropped to sixty inches in 1864, which, of course, reduced the averages thereafter.

There are two of Doctor Baxter's tables that are of especial interest here. One is his comparison by States with Doctor Gould's figures; but in this he uses the averages for all ages in both, and not the age of "full stature" (31 years and up) that is used in Doctor Gould's table given above. The other is the average by congressional districts, which shows startling results for Indiana, the extreme variation between the districts being 1.346 inches. The

enlistments at that time were by districts composed as follows:

First. Counties of Daviess, Gibson, Dubois, Knox, Martin, Pike, Posey, Spencer, Vanderburgh, and Warrick; headquarters, Evansville.

Second. Clarke, Crawford, Floyd, Orange, Harrison, Scott, Washington, and Perry; headquarters, Jeffersonville.

Third. Bartholomew, Brown, Jackson, Jennings, Jefferson, Lawrence, Monroe, and Switzerland; headquarters, Columbus.

Fourth. Dearborn, Decatur, Franklin, Ohio, Ripley, and Rush; headquarters, Greensburg.

Fifth. Delaware, Fayette, Henry, Union, Randolph and Wayne; headquarters, Richmond.

Sixth. Hancock, Hendricks, Johnson, Marion, Morgan, and Shelby; headquarters, Indianapolis.

Seventh. Clay, Greene, Owen, Parke, Putnam, Sullivan, Vermilion, and Vigo; headquarters, Terre Haute.

Eighth. Boone, Carroll, Clinton, Fountain, Tippecanoe, Montgomery and Warren; headquarters, Lafayette.

Ninth. Benton, Cass, Fulton, Jasper, Lake, Laporte, Marshall, Pulaski, Miami, Porter, Starke, St. Joseph, White, and Newton; headquarters, Laporte.

Tenth. Allen, DeKalb, Elkhart, Kosciusko, Noble, LaGrange, Steuben, and Whitney; headquarters, Kendallville.

Eleventh. Adams, Blackford, Wells, Grant, Howard, Hamilton, Huntington, Tipton, Jay, Madison and Wabash; headquarters, Wabash.

Doctor Baxter's tables follow, with an extract of his discussion of the causes of variations.

MEAN STATURE OF AMERICAN BORN, WHITE, UNION SOLDIERS

State	No. Men	Dr. Baxter Height Inches	Dr. Gould Height Inches
Kentucky and Tennessee	4,252	68.677	68.160
Kansas	729	68.551	
Minnesota	3,682	68.371	67.625
Missouri	6,031	68.337	68.033
California	1,308	68.306	
Nevada	21	68.286	
Indiana	38,354	68.080	68.062
West Virginia	5,187	68.005	68.425
Wisconsin	10,922	67.911	67.652
Maine	12,363	67.895	68.122
Iowa	7,823	67.895	68.131
Illinois	36,465	67.835	67.970
Michigan	12,583	67.826	67.615
Maryland	6,918	67.814	67.312
Ohio	39,311	67.782	67.838
Vermont	3,374	67.583	67.613
Delaware	1,215	67.490	
Pennsylvania	47,124	67.470	67.136
District of Columbia	2,883	67.353	
Rhode Island	3,013	67.290	67.088
New York	43,798	67.274	67.083
New Jersey	17,084	67.023	66.575
New Hampshire	2,801	66.929	67.402
Massachusetts	6,280	66.891	67.050
Connecticut	2,099	66.587	67.088

MEAN STATURE OF 38,354 INDIANA MEN IN UNION ARMY.
BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

District	Number	Av. Height Inches
Second	2,112	68.916
Third	1,709	68.407
First	3,224	68.315
Eleventh	3,404	68.303
Ninth	4,781	68.302
Seventh	4,810	68.289
Fourth	2,307	68.080
Fifth	3,028	67.912
Tenth	3,171	67.808
Sixth	5,097	67.660

Eighth	4,711	67.570
Total	38,354	Average 68.080

(The average for the United States was 67.672. Doctor Baxter concurs with Doctor Gould in the belief that the earlier enlistments in the Civil war averaged taller than these.)

CAUSES OF STATURE, AND PERIOD OF FULL STATURE.

P. 16. "A striking peculiarity will be noticed in the height of foreigners in the following tables. In every instance, this height will be found greater than the mean stature ascribed to the nation represented. In like manner, emigrants from the Eastern to the Western States exhibit a stature superior to that of the residents of their native States. Mr. Gould observes that men born in New England, but enlisting from the West, were found to have a mean height varying from 0.380 inch to 0.340 inch, according to age, in excess of the mean height of the volunteers from New England itself.

"The cause of this superior height in those who have left their native country has been much debated. Mr. Gould suggests, in the case of men removing at an early age from the East to the West, that the greater abundance of food might have produced this excess. It is true that the fertile lands of the West produce more abundant harvests, but it is not likely that the supply of sufficient food to the young varies in any important degree in the United States. Besides, the same peculiar difference is observed to exist in the cases of men who have migrated from one western State to another, so that the reason assigned is clearly unsatisfactory. It has also been argued that the prevalence of Cretaceous formation in the geology of the West, by

furnishing a more liberal supply of lime for the bones of the growing youth, accounts for the phenomenon of his greater stature. Although a deficiency of this material may prevent hardening, and result in curvature of the long bones, there is no proof that a superabundant supply would increase their normal length. The natives of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, contiguous States, not varying greatly in geological character, display marked differences in mean stature. The suggestion has also been made that men who leave their native soil to seek fortune in other lands are corporeally superior specimens of their race; but it is yet to be shown that enterprise and ambition depend upon stature, and not on qualities of mind. It would, however, be of great service to this branch of statistics if a record were to be accurately kept of the height, weight and age of all male immigrants landing in New York.

"After all, the true explanation of this curious fact is probably to be found in the difference of age of the men examined. The height of soldiers in all European countries, excepting in Great Britain, is recorded at the period of their conscription, and this occurs from their eighteenth to their twentieth year. It is indisputably established that height continues to increase very perceptibly up to the twenty-fifth year; full growth, indeed, not being completed until later. Now the lowest mean age to be found in Tables Nos. 4 to 9, inclusive, is 25.248 years, and the mean age of the six nativities represented in them is 27.319 years. The comparisons, then, have all the time been made of grown men, twenty-five years old and upward, with lads of nineteen. According to Quetelet's tables of growth, the mean height at nineteen years is 1.655 metres, and at twenty-five years it is 1.682 metres—a difference of 2.7 centimetres, or

1.063 inches. Our tables show the mean height at nineteen years to be 67.07 inches, and at twenty-five years to be 68.05 inches.

"The age announced by other authorities as that of completed growth varies considerably. In France, Bernard gives it as the thirty-second year; Champouillon from the twenty-third to the twenty-eighth; Baron Larrey, the twenty-eighth; and Allaire, from the thirty-first to the thirty-fifth year. In Belgium, Quetelet decides for the thirtieth, and in Switzerland M. Dunant for the twenty-sixth year. Lihartzik, in Vienna, and in England, Aitken, Danson and Boyd regard the twenty-fifth as the year of matured growth. Doctor Beddoe selects the twenty-third year, though he admits a slight increase after that age."

APPENDIX "D"

EXTRACTS FROM ADJUTANT TERRELL'S REPORT, 1869

P. 110, Vol. I.

Document No. 14.

Height and Ages of Indiana Soldiers.

Exhibit showing the height and ages of 118,254 Indiana soldiers in the United States service, War of the Rebellion.

(There is no record of the descriptions of about 88,000 soldiers from this State.)

Document No. 15

NATIVITY OF INDIANA SOLDIERS

Height	No. of Men	Age—Years	No. of Men.
Under 61 inches	501	Under 17 years	270
At 61 inches	293	At 17 years	634
At 62 inches	971	At 18 years	21,935
At 63 inches	2,503	At 19 years	10,519
At 64 inches	5,387	At 20 years	9,435

WASHINGTON COUNTY GIANTS

At 65 inches	9,171	At 21 years	9,705
At 66 inches	14,373	At 22 years	7,835
At 67 inches	15,328	At 23 years	6,789
At 68 inches	19,140	At 24 years	6,013
At 69 inches	15,472	At 25 years	4,891
At 70 inches	15,047	At 26 years	4,283
At 71 inches	8,706	At 27 years	3,738
At 72 inches	6,679	At 28 years	3,929
At 73 inches	2,614	At 29 years	2,769
At 74 inches	1,357	At 30 years	3,001
At 75 inches	409	31 to 34 years	8,391
Over 75 inches	336	35 years and over	14,127
Total reported	118,254	Total reported	118,254

(In a note to this table, Gen. Terrell gives an extract from a private letter to him from Dr. B. A. Gould, saying: "One thing will certainly interest you—that it is evident, from our statistics, that the Indiana men are the tallest of all natives of the United States, and these latter the tallest of all civilized countries." Dr. Gould modified this later, as quoted above.)

Place of birth	Number
Indiana	58,294
Ohio	22,911
New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.....	9,228
Kentucky and Tennessee	7,677
Other Slave States	5,947
Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin	2,124
New England States	902
Other Free States	146

Total American born.....	107,139
Germany	5,242
Ireland	2,983
England	1,084
Foreign countries not designated	948
Canada	611
Scotland	245

Total Foreign born 11,115

Grand Total 118,254

(The total number over 6 feet tall, in the above measurements is 11,392 or nearly 10 per cent. At page 240 Gen. Terrell gives the average height of 38,850 "drafted men, recruits and substitutes, natives of the United States, and citizens of Indiana," at 5 feet, 7.28 inches.)

APPENDIX "E"

(Non-official information)

Extracts from History of Twenty-Seventh Indiana Volunteer Infantry, by Edmund R. Brown, of Company C, later Department Commander Grand Army of the Republic, Indiana.

P. 21. "As to nativity, the majority of the Twenty-seventh were simply Western conglomerates. At least ninety per cent. of the officers and men, if not more, were American born. But, while a few of them were descendants of that band of numerous progeny—the original freightage of the Mayflower—and of other early settlers of the Colonies, many of them were of the third or second, or even of the first generation, born this side of the Atlantic. If some of us proudly claimed a strain of Puritan or Cavalier blood in our veins, it had undeniably been crossed with German and Low Dutch, Scotch and Irish, until it was impossible to decide which now predominated, and few cared about it anyway. * * * One of our companies had such a preponderance of German-speaking men in it that we called it our "Dutch Koompany." Yet most of these young men who spoke the English language brokenly, had been born in the United States, and, in some instances, their fathers before them had been. With them, in the same company, were also men not of German descent, and, along with the rest, were three or four genuine Hibernians, rather recent arrivals. All of the companies had more or less of these 'sprigs of the Emerald Isle.' * * *

"A characteristic of the Twenty-seventh that often attracted attention was the large proportion of tall men which

it contained. It is generally known that we had with us the tallest man in the entire United States army. This has been definitely settled. Capt. David Buskirk stood full six feet eleven and one-half inches in his stockings. It was the plan, at first that his company should be composed wholly of men six feet tall or over. Though this was found impracticable, the company still had in it, at the start, eighty men of that class.

"It would be safe to say that the other companies averaged at least fifty six-footers each. Some quite short men (or boys) brought the average down considerably; but the matter of our unusual average height was the subject of frequent remark, particularly in the early part of our service.

"And we measured well, in comparison with others, in at least one other respect. In that respect we exceeded some others by many feet. Quartermaster-sergeant Crose often referred to his comical, though laborious, experiences in supplying the men with shoes that were large enough for them. Each time he drew shoes, it was necessary for him to bundle up the fives and sixes and go around among the neighboring regiments and exchange them for nines and tens. For this purpose, the Ninth New York and Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania were his favorite resorts, while they remained in the Brigade. They contained mostly city-bred men, with diminutive pedal extremities.

"On the point of the average age of the men of the Twenty-Seventh, it is more difficult to speak, in the enforced absence of the figures. The opinion has been expressed that the average was higher than in most other regiments. The writer does not concur in that opinion. The fact that our men had been so generally accustomed

to out-door life and to physical labor, may have given them an older appearance than if the contrary had been true. Anyway, the few known facts at hand and the general impression as it is recalled, seems to the writer to be conclusive that the Twenty-seventh was below, rather than above, the average age. At all events the average could not have been high.

COMPANY F

P. 596. "This company was peculiar at the start in at least three respects. First, it had three very tall men for commissioned officers; two of them being the tallest men in the regiment, and one being the tallest in the Union army. Secondly, it had more tall men than any other company in the Twenty-seventh. Thirdly, the homes of its members were the most widely scattered over the State.

"Company F was frequently called 'The New Albany Railroad Company.' It was also twitted good humoredly as hailing from between the two State's prisons. New Albany and Michigan City, at opposite extremes of Indiana, almost three hundred miles apart, were represented in the company, as well as many of the towns between them. The prominent reason for this was that several of the company had been employes of the railroad (the Monon) connecting these two points.

"An officer of such giant-like stature as Lieutenant (afterward Captain) Van Buskirk could not fail to invest a company with some special interest. This is still more evident when it is remembered that in his disposition and habits he was almost as different from others as in his stature. He was remarkable for his simple, unaffected and kindly ways. He was always approachable, to everybody

and he had no hesitancy in approaching others. A major-general was no more to him than a private soldier. Owing to his absolute sincerity and utter absence of asperity, as much as to his size, no one ever took offence at anything he said."

Extract from Bloomington Republican, July 13, 1861.

"RECRUITING. Peter Kopp and several other gentlemen of this place are raising a company of grenadiers for the United States service. They admit no recruits under five feet ten inches, and equally stout and able-bodied. We pity the rebel upon whose neck the foot of 'Big Pete' shall come down with a vengeance. There will be no chance for him to even say his prayers before his life is crushed out of him. Some of the others engaged in raising the company are among our most athletic citizens. Their recruiting office, we believe, is at Williams & Sluss livery stables."

EXTRACTS FROM INDIANAPOLIS PAPERS.

The following items concerning Company F, indicate that the reporter forces of Indianapolis were nearly "swamped" by the rapid arrivals of volunteers at the beginning of the war; and also that the incoming soldiers were at times disposed to "have fun" with the reporters.

"The Monroe County Grenadiers, Captain B. Pete, arrived yesterday, and will go into camp at Camp Morton." Sentinel, August 8, 1861.

"A COMPANY OF SIX-FOOTERS. Captain Kopp, a gentleman who has seen service in Napoleon's wars, arrived in the city yesterday with a company of six-footers that he had recruited for the United States service. Captain Kopp,

with his corps, went into camp at Camp Morton and he will immediately enter upon the business of drilling them so that they may be ready to answer as soldiers should at the call of their country." Sentinel, August 13.

"MONROE COUNTY GRENADIERS. A few days ago a company of 'six-footers' arrived in this city from Monroe county and went into camp. The company is composed of the largest men we have seen from any section of the State. The second lieutenant is a 'whale,' but some of the others are whales, too, but a trifle smaller. The following are the officers of the company.

Peter Kop, Captain;

Francis Otwell, First Lieutenant;

David V. Buskirk, Second Lieutenant." Journal, August 16.

"Captain Kop, of Monroe county, the commander of the six-foot grenadiers, now at Camp Morton, is putting his company of magnificent Hoosiers through their daily drills rigidly, determined to have the most soldier like corps in the regiment." Sentinel, August 18.

"Col. Colgrove's regiment, left for Washington unarmed, because he refused the arms tendered him by Governor Morton." Sentinel, September 23.

APPENDIX F

THE VAN BUSKIRK, OR BUSKIRK FAMILY.

The family of Captain David Van Buskirk presents some interesting features in the matter of heredity in physical development, and especially as to the points of deviation

from and recurrence to type. It is also a family which presents in a forcible way the problem of stature influences in the Second Congressional District of Indiana, as the ancestors who located there were not notably tall. Capt. Van Buskirk died on August 12, 1886, on the family farm, where he was born, near Gosport; and the fullest account of him in print is an obituary notice published in *The Republican Progress*, of Bloomington, on August 18, 1886. The editor of the paper was a personal friend, and the account appears to be accurate, with the exception of a few minor errors. As original material it is worthy of preservation, and is therefore reproduced here, as follows:

"DAVID V. BUSKIRK DEAD

"David V. Buskirk, one of the best known men of Monroe county, died at his home in Bean Blossom township, on Thursday afternoon, last. About a year ago, Mr. Buskirk, who was an extraordinarily large and corpulent man, became alarmed by the difficulty he experienced in breathing, and fearing danger from fatty degeneration of the heart, which his physicians advised him was threatened, he begun to use precautions in diet, and resorted to other means to reduce his abnormal weight. For a time his symptoms and condition gave promise of permanent improvement, but dropsy was finally developed and he begun to grow rapidly worse some two months ago, and died from blood poisoning brought about by his general condition. A number of members of the various Grand Army Posts, and other citizens, attended the funeral on Friday afternoon, and the burial took place on the farm, in the family burying ground. Few men have been more respected and honored than 'Big Dave Buskirk,' as he was generally called, and

few men have been more richly entitled to the confidence of his fellows by reason of honesty, true friendship, general morality and worth of character. He was the soul of honor and integrity, and was fully appreciated by his neighbors and acquaintances. The following with reference to deceased, is taken from the 'History of Monroe county,' and is supposed to be accurate:

"David Van Buskirk, farmer and stock raiser, was born upon the farm he has always occupied, November (October) 23, 1826, and was the eldest of ten children born to James and Mariah (Campbell) Van Buskirk, natives of Ohio and Tennessee, and of German (Dutch) and Scotch-Irish descent respectively. David was reared on a farm, was fairly educated, and on March 16, 1849, married Lucy Ann, daughter of Isaac and Patience (Stillwell) Buskirk, of German (Dutch) lineage. Mr. Van Buskirk, by this marriage had six children, born to him: D. C., J. I., Cinthy (Ridge), John, Thomas and Getty. He lost his wife March 16, 1866. He was next married, May 26, 1867, to Mrs. Martha Able, of Monroe county, and daughter of Madison and Sarah (Wilborn) Stephenson. They had born to them two children: Michael (deceased) and Mariah Ann. Mrs. Van B. died February 22, 1873, and our subject took for his third wife, October 26, 1874, Mary Able, sister of the second wife. He enlisted in July, 1861, in Company F, Twenty-seventh Indiana Infantry, under Capt. Peter Clapp (Kopp) and Col. Silas Colgrove. He was engaged first in the first battle of Winchester, where he was taken prisoner, being confined for about three months. He was finally sent to Annapolis, Md., exchanged and next took part in the battles of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, besides numerous skirmishes. He went out as Second Lieutenant, but his captain was

killed during his imprisonment, and he received an appointment as First Lieutenant, and after the battle of Antietam, made Captain. In the fall of 1862 his command was transferred to General Thomas' division, and on April 26, 1864, he resigned on account of disability, and returned to farming. In 1866-68, he was elected county treasurer of Monroe county, on the Republican ticket, but was defeated in a struggle for State treasurer in 1876. He had not since made any attempt to secure office. Mr. Van Buskirk owned 450 acres of land on White River bottom, highly cultivated, well stocked, and which had the addition of a fine residence, out buildings and orchard, and was one of our oldest settlers, having always lived here. He had provided handsomely for all his children, and had always taken great interest in their education, having given them all courses at college. He enjoyed good health until he left the army, since which time he had been affected with rheumatism. Mr. Van Buskirk was the largest and tallest man in the county, and one of the largest in the State. He weighed 390 pounds, and stood six feet ten inches in his stockings. He was a Republican, and very benevolent. Mr. Van B.'s grandfather, Isaac Van Buskirk, was a soldier of the Revolution, and his uncle, John Van Buskirk, served in the war of 1812, having been wounded at the battle of Tippecanoe. Isaac, son of John Van Buskirk, served in the Mexican war, and in the late rebellion. He was killed at the battle of Chancellorsville, at the time being a lieutenant. The wives of the above mentioned soldiers are all sleeping peacefully in the family graveyard on David Van Buskirk's place. This burying ground is located on a hill east of the house, and from the spot you may command a view of the entire country."

The family tradition is that the original American ancestors were two Van Boskerk brothers who came over from Holland, in their own ship, to New Amsterdam. The ship was ballasted with brick, with which they erected the first brick house on Manhattan Island. They were unquestionably an old Knickerbocker family, as may be seen from mention of them in the various publications of the old Dutch records of New York.

The original Indiana ancestors were two brothers, Isaac and Michael, both Revolutionary soldiers. It is said that the reason why part of the family dropped the "Van" was that Michael's land warrant was made out without it; and, as it would have been necessary to go back to Pittsburg to have it corrected, he decided that it would be simpler to change his name. However, the same change has been made by most of the descendants of Isaac, also. Captain David did not use it, but used "V." as a middle initial.

The Revolutionary Isaac served in the "Virginia Guards," and his record, and those of three succeeding generations of soldiers, are on their tombstones at Gosport. He came to Indiana from West Virginia in 1805, and first located near Campbellsburg, in Washington county, removing thence to the farm near Gosport, which has since been known as the family home. He was about six feet tall, and rather slender in build. He had eight sons and four daughters. Of his sons, the descendants of three present some noteworthy features.

Perhaps the descendants of his son Abram are most widely known in Indiana, on account of political prominence. Abram had four sons, viz: John B.; Judge Samuel, of the Supreme Court of Indiana; Judge George A., of Bloomington; and Judge Edward C., of Indianapolis. None of these

were tall men except George A., who was over six feet, and quite heavy. But George Buskirk, of Indianapolis, a son of John B., who is five feet nine inches in height, has a son, Fred G. who is six feet one, and a grandson, fourteen years of age, who is taller than his grandfather, and weighs 132 pounds. Judge Thomas Buskirk, of Paoli, another son of John B., who is five feet seven, has a son, Horace K., who is six feet; and a grandson, Thomas B., Jr., who is six feet one, at nineteen years of age.

Another son of the Revolutionary Isaac, was John, who was severely wounded at the battle of Tippecanoe. It is stated that "he was speared through, and they pulled a silk handkerchief through the wound to cleanse it." He recovered, but the wound eventually caused his death. He was the father of two Union soldiers, who served in Company F, of the Twenty-seventh Indiana regiment, whose pictures are reproduced herewith. Lieutenant Isaac Buskirk was familiarly known as "Blue Ike," on account of a blue birthmark on his cheek, and to distinguish him from several other Isaacs. Sergeant John Buskirk was familiarly known as "Sandy." Both of these brothers were over six feet tall, and of rugged build.

The most notable of the sons of the Revolutionary Isaac, in connection with the question of stature, was James. He was six feet one, and quite fleshy. He married Maria Campbell, of an Ohio family who were all tall. Of their children, David V. was six feet ten and one-half inches, in his stockings; Joseph, now living at Moscow, Idaho, is six feet four; James, now at the Soldiers Home, at Danville, Illinois, is six feet two; Isaac, who died during the civil war, and three daughters, Jerusha, Cynthia and Mary, were all about six feet.

Capt. David V., of this family, was born on the family farm, near Gosport, and grew up there. He married his cousin, Lucy V. Buskirk, who was a small woman, weighing about 130 pounds. They had four sons and two daughters who are now living, as follows: David C., now seventy-one years of age, and living at Long Beach, California, is six feet, two; Isaac, living at Gosport, is six feet five; Thomas (Judge), living at Bloomfield, is six feet two; John, living at Ben Davis, is six feet one, and the two girls: Cynthia, (Mrs. John T. R. Ridge, of Gosport), and Gettysburg, teacher at the girl's school at Clermont, are about six feet.

David V. Buskirk was very strong and active as well as unusually tall. His ordinary weight was about 385 pounds. It is said that after his boys were grown he could lift two of them at arm's length. His oldest boy, David C., was nicknamed "Scroggy," and on his twenty-first birthday, his father said: "Scroggy, the day I was twenty-one, I laid my father on his back on the barn floor." Scroggy thought it was possible that he could duplicate the record; and his father observed that he was rather stiff with rheumatism since the war, but would give him a trial. When they clinched, Scroggy was lifted up and laid on the floor like a child.

In his youth, he was a great wrestler. On one occasion he was flat-boating to New Orleans, and they tied up for the night on the Tennessee shore. One of the boatmen, named Davis, who was himself a noted wrestler, went ashore, and announced that they had a man aboard who could throw any man in Tennessee. Somebody said to send for "Big Eph," and shortly a very powerful negro appeared. He sized up Buskirk, and said: "Say when you're ready." Buskirk said "ready," and in a trice the negro clinched him

and had him down. Buskirk got up, and said: "Now you say when you're ready." When they clinched he avoided the negro's trick throw, and after a warm struggle threw the negro for the second and third falls. This was the only time he was ever thrown.

One of the popular tests of strength in early times was lifting with a handspike. A handspike was put under a log that was too heavy for two men to lift, projecting equally on both sides. When the contestants lifted at the two ends, the necessary result was that the stronger pulled up his end, and forced his opponent to let go. David V. Buskirk was never defeated at this. After the war, there was a very powerful negro, named Tom Travis, employed at the saw-mill on the Buskirk place, who had outlifted everybody in the vicinity. One day he told Captain Buskirk that he was sorry he had not known him before he was crippled by rheumatism, as he would have liked to lift against him. The captain replied that he could not bend over to lift from the ground, but that he would give him a trial with a log that was high enough above the ground to avoid the need of bending. The test was made in that way, and Travis was able to stand the strain for only a few seconds before he was forced to abandon his hold.

Captain Buskirk's death was caused by dropsy, which as usual increased his normal size. It is stated that at his funeral it was necessary to enlarge the door of the house to get the coffin in and out; and that there were six horses to the hearse—this being explained by the statement that the roads were bad. That condition would make the precaution reasonable, for when the roads in that vicinity are bad, they are very, very bad.

APPENDIX G.

Spanish-American War Statistics

Measurements of 5,768 Indiana troops, Spanish-Am. war.
(At time of enlistment)

Nativity	No.	6 ft.	Average Height
Indiana	4,410	142	5 ft. 7.70 in.
Ohio	401	8	5 7.52
Kentucky and Tennessee	136	3	5 7.47
Ill., Mich., Wisc., Minn.	295	11	5 7.97
Other States	344	10	5 7.80
Foreign born	182	5	5 7.52
Totals	5,768	179	5 7.67

Note. The official published "Record of Indiana Volunteers in the Spanish-American War" tabulates 7,421 men, but without their measurements. In the muster-rolls there do not appear any measurements for the Signal Corps, the Engineer Company, and the Colored Companies, which presumably accounts for the total of only 5,768 measurements.

Tabulation of One Hundred and Fifty-seventh Indiana
Spanish-American War.

Nativity	No.	6 ft.	Average Height
Indiana			
Staff &c.	15	0	5 ft. 7.75 in.
Company A.	68	4	5 8.41
Company B.	66	3	5 7.89
Company C.	81	1	5 7.42
Company D.	83	0	5 7.39
Company E.	63	1	5 7.87
Company F.	98	6	5 8.23
Company G.	69	0	5 6.83
Company H.	76	1	5 7.49
Company I.	65	0	5 7.28
Company K.	65	2	5 7.43
Company L.	88	5	5 8.05
Company M.	80	6	5 7.85
Totals	917	29	5 7.69

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Ohio	126	5	5	7.67
Kentucky and Tennessee	4	0	5	6.81
Mich., Wisc., Ill., Minn.	71	4	5	8.33
Other States	69	2	5	7.00
Foreign born	43	1	5	6.68
Regt. Totals	1,230	36	5	7.65

Notes. Exceptional stature, Ongle A. Moritz, Co. B, 6 ft. 5½ in., age 18, born at Fort Wayne, Ind.

Company F are all recorded as born at South Bend—absurd, of course.

One Hundred and Fifty-eighth Regiment, Spanish-American War.

Nativity	No.	6 ft.	Average Height
Indiana			
Staff &c.	22	0	5 ft. 8.44 in.
Company A.	61	2	5 8.42
Company B.	69	3	5 7.52
Company C.	66	1	5 7.32
Company D.	66	1	5 7.70
Company E.	69	0	5 7.35
Company F.	65	3	5 7.97
Company G.	71	3	5 7.35
Company H.	59	2	5 8.21
Company I.	67	3	5 7.66
Company K.	72	1	5 7.80
Company L.	63	3	5 7.49
Company M.	66	1	5 7.61
Ind. totals	816	23	5 7.71

Ohio	59	2	5	7.27
Kentucky and Tennessee	21	0	5	6.88
Ill., Mich., Wisc. Minn.	41	2	5	7.63
Other States	59	3	5	7.70
Foreign born	17	1	5	8.72
Regt. totals	1,013	31	5	7.68

One Hundred and Fifty-ninth Regiment, Spanish-American War.

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Nativity	No.	6 ft.	Average Height	
Indiana.				
Staff &c.	24	1	5 ft.	8.2 in.
Company A.	59	3	5	7.20
Company B.	57	2	5	7.82
Company C.	67	5	5	7.76
Company D.	76	0	5	7.26
Company E.	56	0	5	7.04
Company F.	63	1	5	7.60
Company G.	74	2	5	7.60
Company H.	72	4	5	8.39
Company I.	68	2	5	7.42
Company K.	79	3	5	7.52
Company L.	59	2	5	7.70
Company M.	53	3	5	7.90
Ind. totals	807	28	5	7.67
Ohio	22	0	5	7.66
Kentucky and Tennessee	50	1	5	7.20
Ill., Mich., Wisc., Minn.	69	2	5	7.69
Other States	51	0	5	7.87
Foreign born	20	1	5	7.69
Regt. totals	1,019	32	5	7.66

One Hundred and Sixtieth Regiment, Spanish-American War.

Nativity	No.	6 ft.	Average Height	
Indiana.				
Staff &c.	17	0	5 ft.	8.60 in.
Company A.	56	0	5	7.85
Company B.	66	1	5	7.40
Company C.	74	9	5	8.57
Company D.	73	2	5	7.51
Company E.	58	3	5	7.47
Company F.	74	2	5	7.35
Company G.	72	1	5	7.97
Company H.	68	0	5	7.03
Company I.	73	1	5	6.08
Company K.	61	3	5	7.29
Company L.	54	1	5	7.13
Company M.	66	0	5	7.60
Ind. totals	812	23	5	7.48

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Ohio	83	2	5	7.27
Kentucky and Tennessee	5	0	5	6.40
Ill., Mich., Wisc., Minn.	32	0	5	7.64
Other States	61	0	5	7.29
Foreign born	28	0	5	76.73
Regt. totals	1,021	25	5	7.43

One Hundred and Sixty-first Regiment, Spanish-American War

Nativity	No.	6 ft.	Average Height
Indiana.			
Staff &c.	8	0	5 ft. 7.60 in.
Company A.	15	1	5 7.50
Company B.	82	2	5 7.33
Company C.	86	3	5 7.74
Company D.	83	6	5 7.93
Company E.	77	2	5 7.34
Ill., Mich., Wisc., Minn.	74	1	5 7.97
Company F.	72	1	5 8.00
Company G.	74	2	5 7.74
Company H.	83	3	5 8.18
Company I.	76	3	5 7.74
Company K.	91	4	5 7.85
Company L.	61	2	5 7.80
Company M.	76	4	5 8.29
Ind. totals	884	33	5 7.80
Ohio	92	3	5 7.48
Kentucky and Tennessee	56	2	5 8.07
Other States	82	5	5 7.74
Foreign born	61	2	5 8.3
Regt. totals	1,249	46	5 7.83

Twenty-seventh Artillery, Spanish-American War.

Nativity	No.	6 ft.	Average Height
Indiana.			
Staff &c.	25	2	5 ft. 8.80 in.
Men	69	2	5 7.77
Ohio	8	0	5 7.94
Ill., Mich., Wis., Minn.	6	2	5 9.90
Kentucky and Tennessee	0	0	

Other States	14	0	5	6.67
Foreign born	3	0	5	7.66
Battery totals	125	6	5	7.96

Twenty-eighth Artillery, Spanish-American War.

Nativity	No.	6 ft.	Average Height
Indiana.			
Staff &c.	17	0	5 ft. 8.03 in.
Men	63	2	5 8.77
Ohio	11	1	5 8.59
Ill., Mich., Wisc., Minn.	2	0	5 8.00
Kentucky and Tennessee	0	0	
Other States	8	0	5 7.59
Foreign born	10	0	5 5.92
Battery totals	111	3	5 8.29

WORLD WAR APPENDIX "H"

World War Statistics

Table. Mean Stature by States of Soldiers at Demobilization (1919)

State	No. of Men Measured	Mean Stature Inches
United States	102,304	67.72
Alaska	13	69.43
Mississippi	2,099	68.61
Tennessee	2,807	68.61
Texas	4,361	68.60
Alabama	1,930	68.57
Georgia	3,397	68.51
Oklahoma	2,310	68.44
Nebraska	819	68.44
Kansas	1,012	68.43
Arkansas	2,576	68.41
South Dakota	416	68.39
Oregon	1,069	68.38
Washington	2,025	68.38
Montana	264	68.35
Arizona	130	68.33
South Carolina	828	68.32

Minnesota	1,950	68.31
Iowa	1,609	68.28
Idaho	164	68.26
Florida	1,022	68.22
North Carolina	1,815	68.22
West Virginia	1,686	68.20
Utah	104	68.19
Wyoming	80	68.19
Kentucky	2,921	68.13
Colorado	225	68.13
Virginia	1,920	68.01
Missouri	2,836	67.98
North Dakota	358	67.96
Nevada	18	67.91
California	481	67.91
Louisiana	2,070	67.86
New Mexico	229	67.82
Wisconsin	2,675	67.79
Indiana	3,944	67.73
Illinois	6,687	67.65
District of Columbia	231	67.60
Ohio	7,076	67.48
Michigan	3,715	67.32
Delaware	300	67.26
Maryland	1,138	67.20
Vermont	446	67.19
Maine	693	67.17
Connecticut	996	67.08
Pennsylvania	10,874	67.01
New Jersey	3,180	66.93
New York	9,207	66.92
New Hampshire	413	66.80
Massachusetts	4,782	66.77
Rhode Island	403	66.54

Table. Mean Stature by States, of Recruits.

States Arranged in Order of Standing.

State	No. of Men Measured	Mean Stature Inches
United States	873,038	67.49
Texas	34,531	68.40
Oklahoma	19,429	68.28
Mississippi	8,543	68.27

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Tennessee	14,426	68.27
Arkansas	10,111	68.20
Kansas	9,571	68.20
Alaska	106	68.15
Colorado	6,635	68.15
North Carolina	14,668	68.15
Arizona	3,850	68.13
Idaho	4,031	68.10
Oregon	2,748	68.09
Nebraska	10,774	68.08
South Dakota	3,892	68.05
Iowa	19,537	68.04
Minnesota	27,341	68.04
Kentucky	15,502	68.02
Alabama	15,988	68.01
Montana	11,648	68.01
Georgia	20,305	67.99
Washington	13,316	67.96
Missouri	24,964	67.95
North Dakota	6,444	67.92
West Virginia	12,367	67.87
Utah	4,568	67.85
Nevada	1,441	67.83
Virginia	17,616	67.80
Wyoming	1,927	67.79
Indiana	23,194	67.75
California	35,461	67.67
South Carolina	9,343	67.64
District of Columbia	4,486	67.63
Louisiana	12,356	67.60
Wisconsin	18,433	67.60
Florida	5,895	67.58
New Mexico	2,690	67.50
Illinois	69,491	67.40
Ohio	52,814	67.38
Maine	3,315	67.28
Michigan	41,872	67.23
Delaware	1,891	67.19
Vermont	2,077	67.12
Maryland	9,192	67.08
New Hampshire	2,240	66.97
New Jersey	29,958	66.77
Massachusetts	29,534	66.76
New York	87,818	66.72
Pennsylvania	77,186	66.72
Connecticut	13,585	66.71
Rhode Island	3,928	66.40

APPENDIX "I"

Extract from "Centennial History of Washington County, Indiana" by Warden W. Stevens (Indianapolis, 1916), pp. 646-651.

WASHINGTON COUNTY GIANTS

In early times Washington county was celebrated far and wide as being the home of a race of giants, and the wonderful feats of strength performed by some of these men are scarcely believable. There were a number of stalwarts who knew not how strong they were when under any kind of excitement or when their power was put to the test. Among the men who made up the class of giants that gave the county its reputation were Abram Stover, Thomas Denney, James Uppinghouse, James Lee, John Brough, William Cravens and others.

It was generally conceded that Stover possessed the greatest strength of them all and a number of incidents have been handed down relative to his gigantic strength. He was a man of commanding appearance, six feet high, with a huge frame and sturdy manhood. He never vaunted about the superiority of his muscular powers, was never quarrelsome, but stood up for his rights and was ever ready to meet an opponent on friendly terms, even if it came to a fist fight to settle the mooted question. In fact, none of the strong men of early days were prone to be quarrelsome. Had they been vicious and of a fighting disposition, they would have been the terror of the country. When a young man showed that he possessed extraordinary strength and prowess, he always had his champions and backers ready to pit him against any and all comers of like age and experience.

These lists were usually planned for muster days and 4th of July celebrations. A ring was formed in which the contestants met and woe be to the individual who dared to interfere any way in the contest, other than to urge his favorite to supreme effort, or prompt him what to do. A public gathering of any kind was a very dull affair if there were not a number of fights, wrestles and foot races to give life to the occasion.

Thomas Denney was always considered a close second to Stover, as a powerful man, and many of his champions were ready to stake their money on him, if a contest between the two men could be arranged. The two men were close friends and could not be induced to engage in a fist and skill contest publicly, but their partisans finally arranged for a "whisky barrel" contest during a public gathering at Salem. The test was to be taking of a barrel of whisky by the chime, raising it up and drinking out of the bunghole. Judges were selected and a full barrel of whisky was rolled out in the street. It fell to Denney's lot to make the first test. After "lifting" the barrel, which weighed about four hundred pounds, he slowly raised it up and took a drink out of the bunghole. Stover walked up leisurely, laid hold of the barrel, raised it up easily, took the drink and set it down without a jar. There was then some discussion about the decision, each side claiming the victory, but the judges, after mature deliberation, gave the wager to Stover, because he had made a clean lift, while Denney had rolled the barrel part of the way up against his legs.

This test did not exactly satisfy Denney, so, meeting Stover in Salem a short time after this test was made, he proposed that they go upstairs into an empty room, on the corner of lot 9, north side of the square, and take a friendly

set-to, in order that the matter would be satisfactorily settled, no outsiders to be admitted. Stover readily consented, and upstairs they went, laid off their coats and began their knock-down test. After sparring a bit, Stover planted one of his mauls squarely on the side of Denney's head and down he went. After taking a few breaths they went at it again, when Stover, watching his opportunity, landed a heavy blow in Denney's face, bringing a flow of blood and sending him staggering against the wall. The merchant below, hearing something fall heavily upon the floor above, proceeded to investigate the matter. When he reached the room they were just turning for their coats, when Denney remarked, "Where shall we go to take it." Often after that time their partisans would endeavor to get up a fight between them, but the response of each would be, "He is a mighty stout man and we prefer to be friends."

UPPINGHOUSE PICKS A QUARREL WITH STOVER

Upon one occasion there was a log-rolling south of Salem and Stover went early to lend a helping hand. James Uppinghouse put in an appearance in the afternoon and had sought an opportunity, for some time, to test his strength with Stover. Shortly after his arrival he noised it around that he had come with the intention of whipping Stover before he left the clearing and took particular pains to exasperate him in many ways. Finally, some one told Stover about the threat Uppinghouse had made, which put him on his guard. The never-failing jug was passed around frequently and it wasn't long till Uppinghouse began to feel that he was the best man in the State, and again directed his insults toward Stover, when the latter said, "I understand you have come here to give me a licking."

Uppinghouse said, "That's my intention," to which Stover replied, "Well, here we go." They squared off for the fight, every one present gathering around to witness the contest. Uppinghouse made a few unsuccessful passes at Stover who waited for a favorable opportunity, when he landed a blow between his opponent's eyes, knocking him backward and over a log some ten feet distant, seemingly a dead man. Bystanders went to him and with whisky and water duly administered, brought him to his senses again, when, after being assisted to his feet, he said: "Abe, give me your hand. I don't desire any further test, and from henceforth I am your friend."

James Lee was much of a man and in all his bouts with others always came out successfully. He was over six feet tall, weighed over two hundred pounds and was indeed a very wiry, athletic man. He finally concluded he was a match for Stover and upon several occasions sought a set-to with Stover. There was an election in Salem when he finally picked a quarrel with Stover, who became quite enraged, and at the first pass he downed Lee and went after him with fire in his eyes, but a half dozen men laid hold of him and finally dragged him off of his opponent and succeeded in quieting him down a bit, when Stover, taking a good breath said: "Boys, I am glad you came to Lee's rescue, for I might have killed him."

Grocers used to buy all their sugar in large hogheads, weighing a thousand or twelve hundred pounds. One had been received by a grocer on the south side of the public square, near where Stover and some friends were seated on a bench engaged in conversation. A young man, who was one of the bullies of the town, came along and having about three good drams ahead, saw Stover and offered to bet him

that he could put the hogshead of sugar on end. Stover remarked: "Young man, I never bet, but that is a pretty good lift for you or any other common man." At this the young fellow seized hold of the hogshead and set it upright, when, slapping his fists together, he swore that he "was the best man in the county, young or old, and if any man didn't believe it, let him try it on." Stover made no reply, which emboldened the young fellow to move up closer to the old man and continue his braggadocio. Stover rose up slowly, doubled up his monster fists and said: "Young man, I am getting a little past my prime, perhaps, but (taking a step forward) I think I am as good as ever for a few jerks." Stover's manner and appearance were enough for the young blood, and reaching out his hand towards Stover said: "It's my treat, come on." When asked afterward why he calmed down so suddenly, he said: "When I saw those huge fists and that mighty man facing me, I saw I had no business with him other than to cultivate his friendship and then retire in good order."

COLONEL STOVER BESTS HIS SON-IN-LAW

Colonel Stover had a son-in-law, named John Brough, who was a powerful man and had never been worsted in any of his athletic contests with others. He was so confident of his superiority over his fellows that he even imagined that he was a match for his father-in-law. They met at a log-rolling east of Salem and after a few whiffs at the jug he bantered Colonel Stover for a tussel just for a little fun. Stover told him to make a "running shoot" at him and he'd see about it. Brough slipped back a few feet and came at the colonel like a catapult. As he came in reach the old man caught him by his trousers and about the

neck, raised him up and threw him back over his head. Brough landed on some poles and broke his leg.

Upon one occasion a muscular fellow who clerked in Booth's store, on the north side of the square, made the assertion that no man could put him over the counter. Uppinghouse accepted the challenge and essayed the task. A long tussel ensued, and when Uppinghouse began to tire the young fellow watched his opportunity and unexpectedly toppled his adversary over the counter, who fell with a thud that jarred the whole building. The young man then boasted that no man could put him over, not excepting Stover. The colonel happened to be in town and was hunted up and told that a fellow wanted to see him at Booth's corner. A large crowd followed to see the sport. Arriving at the store, Stover was told what had happened and of the banter made by the young giant. "You think I can't put you over the counter, do you?" asked Stover. "I know you can't," said the young man. Without another word Stover stepped up to the young fellow, took him by one leg and an arm, and while he was squirming and wriggling in vain endeavor to loosen the vise-like grasp of Stover, he was easily set down on the inside of the counter and then lifted back again, about as readily as a ordinary person would handle a child.

AN INCIDENT AT THE CONSTRUCTION CAMP

While the public improvements were being prosecuted between Salem and the Ohio Falls, there were some powerful men engaged in work from time to time, and almost every day some sort of strength test would come off. A fellow named Short proved to be the giant of all the gangs and he was frequently complimented on his great size and

muscular powers. To such praise he would always reply, "Why, boys, there is a race of giants up in Washington county and I being the runt and unable to take my own part, was obliged to come down here as a matter of self-preservation." One day, while all hands were busy, Short saw Stover coming down the road with a four-horse team of produce for the market. He said to his fellows, "Now, here comes one of those giants I was telling you about," and he went out and greeted the colonel heartily.

Stover was then introduced to the boss of the gang, when work was suspended and all adjourned to a nearby grocery. The saloon keeper was a practical pugilist and had heard of Colonel Stover, but after sizing him up, remarked, "Short, if your man is a mountain I can lick him." And without further warning squared himself for a fight. Stover said he had not come there for trouble and instead of dealing the fellow a blow with his ponderous fist, he latched him by the wrist, pulled him forward, took hold of his shoulder with the other hand and was about to twist his opponent's arm out of its socket, when the doughty chap bellowed for mercy. Stover let him go, saying, "That's how I could break your arm as easy as I could a chicken's leg." The fellow then set up the drinks to the crowd and told Stover he was his guest for a week. On his way back home the colonel was halted and treated like a lord. He boxed with two at a time, lifting weights and performed many feats of strength that were remarkable, making him the hero of the day.

There never was a muster in the whole country round that Stover did not attend. He was promoted finally to be colonel of a regiment of the militia and in the fall of 1825 was appointed brigadier-general pro tempore. His aid was

Capt. John Duckworth, a man no less portly and good-looking than himself. In gaudy parade costume and imposing equipage and mounted on fiery steeds these men rode before the regiment. Colonel Stover made a speech and then, with his staff officers, retired amid the plaudits of the admiring throng. Colonel Stover lived on a farm, located about four miles southeast of Salem, on the Greenville road. He lived to the advanced age of eighty-seven years, his death occurring on April 6, 1875. He came to the county from Virginia in 1815.

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THE SCIENCE OF COLUMBUS

BY

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THE SCIENCE OF COLUMBUS.

In order to preserve peace between nations, Pope Alexander VI in 1494 apportioned the State of Indiana and other territory to Spain. At that hour the wonderful North American continent lay behind the veil as yet unlifted. As far as Portugal or Castile and Leon were informed the welter of the grey Atlantic extended unbroken north of Cuba to the Pole. Inasmuch, however, as an Italian adventurer had brought forth a marvel from the west, the Kings of these European countries were prepared for any surprise from the unknown and they went to the arbiter of national disagreements to assign to each what should be his when it was discovered.

The Line of Demarcation was drawn from Pole to Pole at 370 leagues to be measured in degrees or by another manner from the islands of Cape Verde to the west. Anything to be discovered or already discovered that lay east, north or south of this line was to belong to the King of Portugal and whatever was west, north or south of this line was to belong to Spain. Should one or the other nation discover lands within the preserves of the other he was peaceably to relinquish such lands to that party in whose domain such discoveries were made. It was a beautiful arrangement and was cheerfully ignored as many beautiful national arrangements have always been.

The blue-eyed Briton and the black-eyed Frenchman swarmed over the soil of North America planting flags and firing commemorative lombard shots which signalized possession as if the venerable Spaniard in the Vatican had not

spoken. For that reason Indiana only belonged to Spain in an unreal way. In that much the title of Indiana to the people of the commonwealth is clouded. Spain, however, had failed to deliver to Christopher Columbus the value of his portion of the territory he had discovered, according to contract, and her title, also, is not immaculate. When the matter is traced to the source the original title lies between that Italian sailor and a copper-skinned race whose seed was planted here by the winds that scattered mankind over the earth when Time was young.

When Ferdinand and Isabella entered into a contract with Christopher Columbus by which he was to set forth on a voyage of discovery, they caused John de Coloma to write in *La Capitulacion* that ;

“Per quanto vos, Christoval Colon vades por nuestro mandado a descubrir e ganar con ciertas fustas neustras a con neustras gentes ciertas ylas e terra firme enla mar oceana.—”

(Forasmuch as you, Christopher Columbus are going by our command with some of our ships and with our subjects to discover and acquire certain islands and mainlands in the ocean—,”))

they expected to make certain concessions to the Italian for his services.

In these terms they set down plainly what they expected Columbus to discover upon representations made to them by the Italian sailor. The preamble of the Capitulation consisted of an extensive religious discussion with which most of the state documents of this royal pair opened, but the several clauses of the contract dealing directly with the expedition consisted of a straightforward bargain between an adventurer and a pair of acquisitive princes who had territory and increased revenues in mind.

Columbus had put forward arguments and inducements as many and diverse as the number and kind of people before whom he had laid his scheme. He had held out the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre and the financing of a great Crusade* to the religious; he had told of spices and gems and merchandise to the commercial minded; of the Grand Khan and Prester John to the conquistador; of a round world to the scientist. But in signing a contract he would bind himself to the most feasible task. He did not engage to prove the world was round, to find gold, gems or spices or to deliver the gorgeous Asiatic cities of Zaiton and Quinsay to his royal patrons. He bound himself by a legal instrument to deliver a landfall and nothing else. It indicates that he was sure of islands and mainlands in the ocean-sea. In the light of his positive assurance, it is interesting to examine Columbus upon the scope of his knowledge and the reach of his surmises.

Christopher Columbus was born in Genoa in 1446 (circa). His parents were Domineco and Susanna, weavers, who owned two houses in Genoa at one time and at another had a mortgage foreclosed upon them. He had brothers and at least one sister. Weavers of doubtful fortune with a family in 1446 could hardly educate a child. Ferdinand Columbus, natural and most admirable son of the Discoverer, declares that his father attended the University of Pavia.

"I say, therefore," he writes in his "Historie" "that in his youth he learned letters and studied in Pavia enough to understand Cosmography, the teachings of which science greatly

*Las Casas; Historia. From the Journal of the Admiral, First Voyage, under the date of December 26, 1492.

delighted him; and on account of which he studied Astrol-ogy* and Geometry since these sciences are so related to each other that one cannot be understood without the other and also because Ptolemy in the beginning of his Cosmography says that no one can be a good cosmographer if he is not also a good painter."

Columbus makes a claim to education in a letter written to the monarchs of Spain,

"In questo tempo io ho veduto, & meffo ftudio in vedere tutti i libri di Cofmografia, d'Hiftoria, & di Filofofia, & d'altre fcientie."

("In this time I saw and studied diligently all the books of cosmography, of history and of Philosophy and of other sciences.")

*Frequently in the Admiral's writings he confirms this claim to a knowledge of Astrology as astronomy was called in the fifteenth century. For example on Sunday, January 13, 1493, he records the following, transcribed in the *Historia of Las Casas*:

"He (the Admiral) would have liked to have gone out of the harbor, adverse winds preventing, in order to go to a better harbor because that harbor was somewhat exposed and because he wished to observe the conjunction of the moon with the sun, which he expected to take place the 17th of this month and the opposition of the moon with Jupiter and conjunction with Mercury and the sun in opposition with Jupiter which is the cause of great winds."

It is worth noting that the Journal beginning with the 17th details a comparative calm for six days.

On Monday, January 21, he writes:

"He found the winds cooler and he expected, he says, to find them more so each day the more he went to the north and also because the nights were longer on account of the narrowing of the sphere." He is explaining here the diminishing length of the degrees, from the equator to the pole.

These are not the words of a man merely guessing that the world is round.

On his second voyage he attributes the daily shower on Jamaica in July to the dense groves fringing the islands, a scientific explanation three or four centuries in advance of the times.

If Ferdinand Columbus' statements are to be credited, the Discoverer was a student of cosmography, geometry, astrology, philosophy, history and other sciences before he was fourteen years old, at which time Columbus declares he went to sea.*

The knowledge that made him the foremost explorer of all time and one of the world's greatest scientists bears too little of the academic imprint and too much of a self-acquired education to substantiate his son's claim. He began work as a weaver. During his years before the loom he might have associated with some retired instructor of the University. His biography is bright with friendships among the educated men of the time. Every sign points to an education from association rather than from instruction. When his idea of a voyage to the East by the West entered his mind cannot be determined. Perhaps it grew as he read and his reading was of the order to inspire advanced thinking and high aims. Italian was his native language and he used it extensively in his correspondence. He must have known something of Latin. He could not have successfully sailed the seas without knowing colloquial Portuguese. He knew Spanish and adopted it as his most familiar tongue. He mentions Ahmed-Ben-Kothair, the Arabic astronomer, and again Rabbi Samuel de Israel, Wolfridus Strabo, the German, and Gerson of the University of Paris. It is improbable that he was acquainted with their writings in the original. He had numerous friends among monks and these may have furnished a medium through which he met these writers.

*"I commenced to navigate at fourteen years and I have always followed the sea." Ferdinand Columbus, "Historie."

It is not too much to conclude that Columbus was better educated at forty than he was at twenty-five; that an absorptive mind, association with men of all nations and all ranks, travel and reading gave him learning more and more each year, sound, serviceable, broad, better than a mediaeval university could have afforded him in a whole course, much less a few months snatched under the age of fourteen.

He spent twenty-six years on the sea before he went to the court of Spain with his project of a westward route to India. He claimed to have visited Frisland and Iceland*; he was bound to have known the islands of the Mediterranean and he had hugged the African coast as far as San Jorge de Mina. The sea was his highway. Familiarity with the wandering face of the waters begot in him understanding and confidence in it. He was unconsciously equipping himself with the trade previous believers in a round world lacked. He became a navigator. Toscanelli, Aristotle or Thales might have believed the earth a globe and believed it for reasons grounded in science but they could not handle a tiller nor hoist a sail.

Sometime in his young manhood while he lived in Portugal he married Phillipa Moniz, daughter of Pietro Moniz de Perestrello, governor of the island of Porto Santo. According to Ferdinand Columbus the mother-in-law presented to the Italian his father-in-law's collection of charts, maps and logs such as a sea-captain, a small explorer and the governor of an

*"I navigated in 1477 in the month of February 100 leagues beyond the island of Thule," he says in a letter quoted by Ferdinand in his *Historie*, to which Ferdinand adds: "and this by moderns is called Frislanda."

*"I was at the fortress of St. George of the Mine belonging to the King of Portugal, which lies below the equinoctial line." Ferdinand Columbus. "*Historie*."

insular province might gather together in a life-time. It is natural to suppose that Columbus spent his leisure hours poring over the many diverse drawings of the same territory as well as the fanciful sketches of land that existed only in the marvelous tales of travelers.

Maps of the day were famous for their difference from each other. There were maps of a square world, of an oval world (Genoese map of 1457), of an apple-shaped world (map of Beatus, 776), a world like a Chinese plate (map illustrating Sallust's *Bellum jugurthinum*, 11th century), even maps of a globed world drawn with continents not to be identified with land-masses on the face of the earth. (Hereford Map of 1280. See Article Maps, Ency. Brit.) Out of this miscellany Columbus obtained an education in cosmography; out of it he evolved enough facts to shape a world for himself, a round world that was as beneficent to mankind and as capable of exploration as that already known.

A globed world was mapped at a time as remote as 150 B. C. upon a theory conceived seven centuries earlier. Columbus was the heir to the belief in a sphere. If he was not a pioneer in the theory, he crystallized the vague surmises of the time and had the courage and the talent to establish his belief.

While he was in Portugal poring over maps and shaping his views of a round world and a voyage to the East by the West, there is evidence that he opened correspondence with the Florentine savant, Paola Toscanelli. Several letters declared to have been written by the scientist of Florence are preserved as proof that one of the greatest thinkers of the time inspired and urged Columbus to attempt the expedition to India by the West.

Over the alleged correspondence between the two authorities have waged a fierce controversy for four centuries. Columbus lived in an age of sham. Forgery was cheerfully indulged in whenever authentic evidence was insufficient to prove the point. The great Genoese might have corresponded with Toscanelli and he might not. It is not material. The first paragraph of Toscanelli's first letter shows that Columbus had suggested his project to the scientist.

"I see your great and magnificent desire to go where the spices grow."

The Discoverer shaped his course as often at variance with Toscanelli's theories as in line with them. Columbus was no mere creature of any man's. The fight he made for himself at the very beginning and carried on to the close of his life was based upon a determination to be recognized as the one who had originated the idea, and carried through the labor, of proving the world a globe.*

In Portugal he received no encouragement. Addressing the Spanish sovereigns, he bitterly charged the Portuguese King with stupidity.

*There is a persistent tradition told of Columbus while living in Portugal, that a pilot and three or four seamen, remnant of a crew of a merchantman which had been driven by a storm into the far West, were received in the house of Columbus on their return and there died soon after of their mortal experiences. The story goes that the pilot left his log and chart with Columbus, who preempted the information and material furnished him by the dead navigator and sailed upon the chart straightaway to the islands which the pilot had found.

Three contemporaneous writers tell this story. (Two (Las Casas and Garcilasso de la Vega, the Inca) accept it without seeing the shadow cast upon the Admiral. The third (Oviedo) who knew Columbus and was better able to decide, dismisses it bluntly as fiction.

Later writers reject it with a deal more feeling and resentment than the value of the story warrants.

"He put to shame his sight, hearing and all his faculties for in fourteen years I could not make him understand what I said."

At another time he assures the princes of Spain that :

"I listened neither to France nor England nor Portugal, the letters of whose sovereigns your Highnesses saw by the hand of Doctor Villalo."

No such important letters are preserved or even recorded in the voluminous history of the Genoese. The main import of this reference is to prove that the expedition to the East by the West was an idea old in the mind of the Genoese when he presented himself to them in 1485.

Arriving in Spain after the Moorish campaign was well in its third year, he was put off until a more propitious hour. By that time his conception of a round world and a way to the East by the West had crowded all other projects from his mind. He was consumed with a desire to prove his contention and none other. If he had acquired a competence, it had long since been used in support of a family while he spent fourteen years pleading with an uncomprehending court in Portugal. He had reached that exalted state of determination where hunger, cold and exposure amount to nothing so long as an aim may be held true.

In want dire enough to move to compassion, a fifteenth century monk accustomed to mediaeval misery, he was introduced to the queen by her former confessor and consigned by her to the care of that gentle, kindly, generous knight and royal auditor, Don Alonso de Quintanilla. Thereafter he was entertained here and there over Spain* among friars and

*In contrast to Quintanilla's generous treatment of the Genoese without hope or expectation of pay, the letter of the Duque de Medina Celi to the Grand Cardinal of Spain, immediately after the return of

grandeas but the only times when the Discoverer felt want were when he was away from the cordial roof of the noble Quintanilla.

When he was finally permitted to present his scheme to the monarchs he offered to the religious nature of the Queen a chance to spread the gospel, to the King territory, to the conquistadores, gold. Upon these inducements he won a tentative hearing before a council at the University of Salamanca. The importance of this council has been reduced by the research of historians. It is generally accepted as an unofficial affair and its decision was merely a difference of opinion between an advanced thinker and a body of monks or students or members of a faculty, informally convened. That there was a reference of the Discoverer's scheme to a royally appointed council about the year 1491, is incontestable. That the state of the war with Granada precluded support to the expedition is known to have been the verdict of that junta. Before the assembled mob of student monks and faculty in Salamanca and before the junta composed of the Grand Cardinal of Spain, Fray Diego de Deza, Alonso de Cardenas, the Prior of Prado, Juan de Cabrera and Alessandro Geraldini, the Italian Ambassador, Columbus laid his theories. Ferdinand Columbus declares that he did not reveal his plans in their entirety lest

Columbus from his first voyage is entertaining. The following is an extract:

"It may be eight months since he (Columbus) started and now on his return he has come to Lisbon and has found all that he sought for and very fully. As soon as I learned of this and to make known such good news to Her Highness I wrote her about it by Xuares and I sent him to beg that she would show me favour and *allow me to send some of my caravels there each year*. I beg your Lordship to kindly aid me in the matter and I entreat it of you on my part since it *was through me and by my keeping him in my house for two years* and directing him to the service of her Highness that he has accomplished so great a thing."

they should be pre-empted and used without his participation. His caution along a similar line throughout his Journal very nearly bears out this statement. However, his later arguments before the monarchs in the presence of many of the same persons were full and all-persuasive.

The conventional belief in the shape of the world, its boundaries and its nature was simple and Scriptural. Whatever the scientist thought, the common people and the clergy believed the earth to be flat; that it was bounded upon its outer borders by an ocean that faded away into a mysterious gloom at the edge of things. It was believed to be separate and apart from the heavenly bodies. The sun was believed to revolve around it. Fantastic theories were offered to account for the support of the earth-plane.

The one believed the most rational provided a series of immense columns among whose labyrinthine gloom the sun threaded its way as it passed under the earth to rise again in the east after setting in the west. These columns rested on anything or nothing. At that point invention seemed to grow feeble.

The Scriptures defined the geography of the plane. It had four corners and the land comprised six parts of the seven of its surface.* Upon these claims theologians issued pamphlets

*II Esdras 4:42.

1. Writing of the junta in his Christopher Columbus, John Boyd Thatcher says: "Alessandro Geraldini leaned over to the Most Reverend Cardinal of Spain, Gonzales de Mendoza and whispered that to his mind the geographical knowledge of the fathers of the Church had been somewhat modified and enlarged since in these days the Portuguese navigators had been on a point in another hemisphere where the North Star no longer appeared in the heavens and where the pilot's eye was fixed on another Star and another Pole."

Columbus was never in great danger of the Inquisition through high churchmen, who at that date had begun to look upon the fathers of the church as very good saints but indifferent scientists.

against heresies. Commentaries by numerous saints were their ammunition.¹ Science plays little or no part in their arguments. Reason they used freely without knowing that the simple derivations of reason do not always come up from the deeps of facts. They said that men could not inhabit the other side of the earth because they could not cling head downward to the ground. Oceans would pour away on the under side of the world. Christ had come to all men. If men inhabited the Antipodes they would have been slighted. Sea-faring men added to these scriptural arguments, stories of demons, and monsters, and natural barriers in the shape of whirlpools and magnetic islands that would draw out the nails of ships; seas of sedge and breathless areas of calm. Some declared that the sky failed at certain points and nothing overarched the waters at the uttermost limits.

Against these venerable fallacies Columbus had to array new and unique and often perilous argument. He could show the layman the familiar spectacle of a ship approaching a quay, visible first at mast-top, then sails, then deck and finally keel as proof of a world that curved. He could offer the fairly well substantiated tale of the two drowned savages that came ashore at Flores; he could tell of the great canes and of the bar of wood, wrought, but not with iron that were cast up on the Canaries. To the scientist he could offer deeper argument. He knew the whereabouts of the sun for sixteen hours and because he did not know the rate of the planet's revolution nor indeed that it revolved at all he believed that the sun spent the other eight hours over an unknown extent of ocean about one-third its actual size. Several times, he calculated differences in time between an eclipse of the moon occurring in the western hemisphere with that of the eastern time to bear

out his belief in the size of the earth at her girth. He did not know at the time he was appealing for funds to make his expedition, that the earth was larger. Whether he ever modified his dimensions of the globe will be discussed later on.

"The world is small," he wrote the Sovereigns in the "Lettera Rarissima" after his return from the fourth voyage. "That which is dry, that is to say the land, is six parts. The seventh only is covered with water. . . . I say that the world is not as large as commonly asserted."

Toscanelli almost exactly estimated the size of the globe.* This computation Columbus refused to accept. Copernicus had not yet pronounced his splendid heresy. Newton had not yet lived. Ptolemy's declaration that the earth could not move at great speed without developing tremendous gales from the east had long since effectively done away with the tolerably correct theory of the earth's revolution advanced some six centuries earlier. With the idea of a stationary world upon which to earlier. With the idea of a stationary world upon which to base his computations, the dimensions Columbus obtained for the globe were logical. That he should fail entirely of a correct estimate of the proportions of land and water should be ascribed to his fidelity to the Scriptures.

At the beginning he overestimated the size of Asia. He believed that the opposite sides of the Eurasiatic continent approached each other with a water area of a greater or lesser extent between them. Whether this attempt to harmonize Scripture and science kept him in ignorance of the true dimensions of his globe until the day of his death is a matter of conjecture.

*Toscanelli's figures are 24,969 English miles. M. Faye's measurement in 1904 amounted to 24,860 English miles.

With such matter as would appeal to the minds of those who demand concrete evidence, and with such figures as would arrest the attention of those who deal with unsolved mysteries by mathematics, he approached his Sovereigns and their councils and juntas, unofficial and official with intense earnestness.

Spain was at war with the Moors throughout all this time. The Royal Treasury experienced a perennial deficit with a stubborn foe contesting every inch of the Spanish advance. New lands had no charms for a royal pair fighting for their own fief. Expensive adventure could not be undertaken when every maravedi was needed for munitions and mercenaries. In Columbus' usual passionate manner he charges that he was merely laughed at for seven years.* But his petition was granted within ninety days after the surrender of Granada.

It is evidence pointing to the sanity and charity of the Queen that the monarchs did not hold him in La Capitulacion to the fabulous acquisitions he so often pictured in his arguments. Columbus was excitable and incoherent in many of his writings, given to exaggeration, but he lived under tremendous pressure a great part of his life and his utterances must be judged by the extremity of his wishfulness and earnestness.

It is not unfair to the Discoverer to declare that his interests were also centered in the profits of the expedition, but his ultimate aim as a Crusader gives sufficient cause for a desire to have funds to prosecute the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre.

*"Seven years did I remain in the Court of Your Majesties when those to whom I spoke of this enterprise declared with one voice that it was chimerical and foolish." *Lettera Rarissima*.

The crown having supplied him with a meagre amount for the expedition he sailed from Palos, August 3, 1492, with a fleet of three vessels, not one of which would have been underwritten by any modern maritime insurance company.

The voyage outward was peculiarly propitious. The appearance of the volcano on Teneriffe at the beginning of the journey and the passage of a remarkable meteor alarmed the crew and restlessness was noted two or three days before the landfall, but aside from these slight disturbances the journey was serene to the point of monotony. That Columbus chose the month of August in which to sail points to an assumption that he did not expect to cross a great expanse of ocean with equinoctial storms only six or seven weeks away.

When he sailed from Palos, he took with him Toscanelli's map which provided for a straightaway sail from Lisbon, but he dropped ten degrees southward on a course of his own. Every map that Columbus had seen, every storm tossed mariner that had won home from the jaws of the west had filled the mid-Atlantic with islands of more or less marvelous character. He stubbornly refused to search for these imaginary groups upon encountering vegetation adrift in spite of the loud and boisterous appeals of the brothers Pinzon, pilots of the *Pinta* and the *Niña*.

When he refused to beat about in search of these islands he was acting upon his own knowledge that insular masses are the final utterance of the continent. He was sure that Cipango (Japan), lying east of Asia, was an island. With the exception of keys and perhaps a string of archipelagoes, Cipango would be the first dry land to be encountered before raising the Asiatic mainland. His sail had been all too short to reach that, then.

Under the thirteenth of September after leaving Palos he entered in his Journal the following:

"On this day at the beginning of night the needles declined a trifle to the northwest and in the morning they declined a trifle."

Had nothing more than this fact come of the expedition, it would have been more than worth all of the efforts of the Discoverer to make the voyage. It was ocular proof that the world was round. It was well known that the needle deflected east of north in European waters. Had the explorer been expecting the needle to deflect west of north as soon as the line of no variation was passed, he would have made an hourly examination of the compass when the declination became less^o apparent. There is no previous evidence in any of his writings or his verbal arguments to show that he expected this variation. The occurrence promptly explained itself to him. It was no surprise; it was merely unlooked-for evidence that proved his contention. After that day he went forward with the unalterable determination rising upon a belief confirmed. In that hour he assumed his place as the greatest scientist of the times. What occurred afterwards was the fortune of an explorer.

On the night of October 11, he encountered one of those spectacular tempests peculiar to the region of the Antilles. While the crews were still wrestling with their feeble craft in the wallow of appalling seas, some anxious squaw on Watling's Island showed a light to guide her fisherman brave into port and the Admiral of the Ocean-sea and Vice-Roy of all the Indies was lighted into a New World by it.

When he landed on the following morning, he was so sure

that he had reached one of the outpost insular masses of Asia that he gave the aborigines their permanent misnomer.*

He knew that he had discovered another race. He was sufficiently acquainted with enough representatives of mankind to separate them at once from the white, the Malay and the negro. He who knew all the kinds of man that can accumulate at a port was aware that none of these hawk-nosed horse-haired, copper-skinned folk had mingled with the rest of the world upon any man-built quay. So he called them Indians as the only other race that might be.

At this stage of the Discoverer's life began a debate with himself that he probably decided before he was done voyaging over the waste of water and breaking through the wilderness of land in the New World. It is mournfully told by historians of a type that Columbus died without knowing that he had not discovered India. A little closer study of events will call that statement into question.

With his belief in a round world confirmed, with the islands of the ocean-sea discovered and acquired as stipulated in his contract, he pressed on confident that his road to India was now open. The next day he proposed to set sail and "go and see if I can encounter the island of Cipango."

The Indians told him of Cuba and their information plus his world-old tradition of Cipango led him a twelve-weeks' search through the Antilles. By the first of November he began to waver. He was at that time in Cuba. Under that date

*Under October 15 of his Journal he makes the first use of the word "—and I afterwards watched the shore at the time of the landing of the other Indian to whom I had given the aforesaid things and from whom I did not take the ball of cotton although he wished to give it to me." Las Casas.

he declared he is upon mainland "within a hundred leagues of the marvelous cities of Quinsay and Zaiton."* But men he had sent into the interior to inquire, returned two days later with the information that there were no great or rich cities and he set sail then for the southeast where he had been told lay the country rich in gold, gems and spices.

J. B. Thatcher in his work on Columbus says: "At first, on his first voyage and on his second voyage, he doubtless expected to find if not the Great Khan himself at least the outer door of his dwelling but after that, we believe the truth dawned on him, a suspicion positively confirmed on his fourth voyage when on the coast of Veragua he was told that across the land to the west lay another body of water, another ocean and that the western coast of the land, the continental land bore the same relation to the eastern coast where he was then as Fuenterrabia in the Atlantic Ocean bore to Tarragona in the Mediterranean Sea."

Much that is contradictory in the narrative of Columbus must be laid to his situation, the times and his temperament. His Journal was written expressly for the eyes of the Sovereigns. He had offered India and its wealth, religious field and alliance to them in his argument. Its discovery was to stand as his proof that the world was round. It was the most tempting prize of the expedition. To abandon hope of it would seriously depreciate his gains.

Is it not possible to believe that he continued to search for

*Journal.

India long after he was sure that he had not reached it? Time and again throughout the Journal of his first voyage* he offers much forced and untenable encouragement to the Sovereigns. Often he quotes absolute dissipation of hope by inserting information given him by natives. Columbus may have been a stubborn man, preferring to believe as he pleased, but his intelligence was vast. It would be a slander on his mental faculties to believe that a navigator of his experience could coast for years along shores, lifeless, wild, jungle-clad, in the expectation of momentarily raising a civilization as old as Time, among people still in the Stone Age.

Whether or not he began at this time to feel doubts about his India he directed his search painstakingly for gold** and

*For instance after dealing strictly with childish savages, accepting shelter in straw huts and presenting garments to a King who had never seen clothing he says under the date of January 4, 1493, that "he concludes that Cipango was on that island." He refused at first to believe that the Caribs were cannibals and declared that they were subjects of the Great Khan. Before he left the Indies he surrendered the idea. He found evidence to confirm his belief and rejected all of it before he returned to Castile. In his Folio Letter to Luis de Santangel he mentions the Grand Khan once, but the vastness of the people's simplicity and the total absence of any civilization in many and emphatic words.

**"Gold was collected by undermining the bank of a stream. At first after the bank falls, the water bubbles up and flows away in a turbid condition but soon having recovered its natural clearness the grains of gold which are heavier than the earth in which they are imbedded and settle to the bottom, are clearly displayed to view."

Syllacio-Coma Letter, explaining Indian placer mining.

spices among the islands that he had found. He knew that he must return to Spain and he felt that a mere cluster of islands inhabited by savages was not reward enough for the liberality of the Spanish monarchs. He must produce revenue enough to justify his expedition. The opportunity of a buccaneer never occurred to him. It occurred to others. In his letter to the nurse of Prince Juan he denies a charge made against him of attempting to barter the Indies. He might easily have larcenized his discovery and failing to return, dropped the curtain on the New World and the round world until some century far in the future.

He collected mined and fashioned gold. He knew free gold or gold in the nugget but there is doubt whether he knew gold-bearing quartz. An assayer, sent with the second expedition, was able to cast doubts upon the quality of nuggets found by Columbus himself. He did not know spices in the growing state. Under the date October 23, 1492, of his Journal he states: "And as I must go where great trade may be had, I say that it is not reasonable to delay but to pursue my journey and discover much land until I encounter a very profitable country although my understanding is that this one is very well provided with spices; but *I do not know them*, which causes me the greatest trouble in the world."

Again under October 21, he expresses his alarm at his ignorance. Sunday, December 30, one of the Pinzons reported that he had found rhubarb, which the Admiral believed. But his description of the plant proved that he was in error. Rhubarb was known in Europe only in the powdered form, used as a medicine. He knew aloes and he recognized cinnamon, but he confesses that he knew these spices only. He carried with him peppercorns and cinnamon bark, which he

showed to the Indians when in search of spices. It was only on his second voyage when Dr. Chanca, the queen's physician, accompanied him that he was able to identify spices as they were found.

With enough samples of gold, spices and Indians to prove that he had raised "a very profitable country" he returned with all speed to Spain. His rise to greatness was instant. Few successful adventurers have been as warmly applauded and as royally rewarded as was this Italian sailor, returning with a new world for his sovereigns. The Grand Khan and the gorgeous cities of Zaiton and Quinsay fell into insignificance before the chance of conquest and adventure in the estimation of the conquistadores. His second expedition had immediately a waiting list, not of broken men and convicts and ruffians, but gold-laced and belted knights and lords conscious of their social superiority to the Admiral of the Ocean-sea.

Columbus at the pinnacle of his greatness, was vested with powers that were to undo him. It is safe enough to clothe a scientist with a title and allow him an income but to rest in him the duties of an executive may place him without his limitations. It was so in the case of Columbus.

The second voyage was one of gold-seeking, ruling and construction which inspires avarice, envy and resistance. He was unfortunate in his association with the average fifteenth century man. He had all that self-centered tedium of manner, all that sensitiveness and solemnity that afflict men with an urge; he was not always a pleasant companion nor always an admirable figure. Temperamental, almost paranoist, he was nothing different from any man ancient or modern consecrated to a single purpose and knowing himself solely selected therefor.

On his second visit to the Indies he built the city of Isabella on the island of Española or Haiti. With a mind to the character of the age, he selected the site not for its agricultural adaptability or for maritime trade but for its proximity to the gold field. It was low and marshy and its soil was thin. Whether he failed to understand these faults or merely ignored them is not settled. At any rate as a city builder he was more energetic than wise and the colony suffered. In the de Torres Memorandum he urges Antonio de Torres to make it plain to the Sovereigns the beauty and inviting features of the spot chosen, which would imply that the Admiral wished to impress upon them that he had been deceived by appearances.

The construction of his city nearing completion, he gathered a troop of Spanish soldiery together and marched into the interior of Española. Finding the native paths too narrow for his army, the purpose of which was to impress the natives, he set his arquebusiers and belted knights, indiscriminately to work clearing roads. This was just, but rash. It marked the beginning of the Admiral's troubles.

Upon that inland journey he discovered the Royal Plain of Haiti, whose waters flowed over sands of gold, and penetrated Cibao, building the fortress of St. Thomas on the way. Cibao was and is still a gold field from which fabulous treasure has been taken and in which fabulous treasure remains to this day.

When he returned to his new city of Isabella he found the population prostrate with malaria, conditions of all kinds bad, and the public assayer, Fermin Cedo, declaring that the gold he had analyzed was merely melted ornaments and alloyed at that. Again the Admiral impressed the leisure class and laborers alike, and higher the flame of resentment and dissatisfaction grew.

A third incident which added to the Admiral's unpopularity occurred later while he was coasting down the long, long edge of Cuba on a voyage of exploration. He had covered more than a thousand miles of it and the end was not yet, when he tried to convince himself it was a continent. He sent a notary among the crews of his vessels to get the opinion of the men and the notary exceeding his authority required of the seamen an oath that it was continental land threatening a penalty if the affidavit were afterward repudiated. Navarrete gives the written report of the notary which exonerates the Admiral of any part in this high-handed attempt to declare land a continent by oath.

A few days later natives affirmed to Columbus that the land was only a long island and the Discoverer returned to Isabella still defaulting in the second term of his contract, mainland.

He was not discouraged. Holding fast to the Apochryphal statement of the proportion of land and water, with a sea-area already great, he was sure he must find the continent soon. In his affectionate regard for the Scriptures he hampered his own science. Columbus freed from the claims of Esdras might have done much that explorers accomplished half a century later.

Opposition to him developing in Castile with the Sovereigns more or less impressed, the Admiral hastened back to Spain. He readily convinced the princes of the value of his discoveries and he was despatched a third time for the Indies in the summer of 1498 to discover and explore.

His Journal resumes in the words of Las Casas:

"And he ordered the course laid to the way of the southwest which is the route leading from these islands (Canaries)

to the south in the name, he says, of the Holy and Individual Trinity because then he would be on a parallel with the lands of the sierra of Loa (Sierra Leone) and the cape of Sancta Ana in Guinea which is below the Equinoctial Line where, he says, that below* that line of the world are found more gold and things of value; and after that he would navigate, the Lord pleasing to the west—”

He took this southerly course for a distinct purpose not named in this paragraph but discussed in Spain and Portugal with a good deal of interest. There was, as has been seen, persistent reports of mainland south of the Antilles where much gold would be found. The bull by Pope Alexander VI issued shortly after Columbus' return in 1493, had laid a line of demarcation in the New World dividing Portuguese possessions from those of Spain. It was to quiet the opinion of the King of Portugal that continental land south of the Indies belonged

*Columbus owes this belief to Jaime Ferrer, jeweller and geographer, very distinguished for his learning in his times, who wrote to the Admiral thus:

“And for this reason (the Queen having commanded him to write to Columbus) and I write my opinion in this matter, and I say that within the equinoctial regions there are great and precious things, such as fine stones and gold and spices and drugs; and I can say these things in regard to this matter, because of my many conversations that I have had in the Levant, in Alcaire and Domas and because I am a lapidary and because in those places it always pleased me to seek to learn from those who came from yonder, from what clime or province they bring the said things; and the most I could learn from many Hindoos and Arabs and Ethiopians is that the greater part of valuable things comes from a very hot region where the inhabitants are black or tawny and therefore according to my judgment when your Lordship finds such people an abundance of said things will not be lacking; although of all this matter your Lordship knows more when sleeping than I do waking. And of everything, by means of the Divine aid, your Lordship will give such a good accounting that by it, God will be served and the Sovereigns, our Lords, will be satisfied.”

to him that the Discoverer moved south in midsummer along a line near the Equator.

Though his course was definitely outlined, he encountered such stretches of intense tropical heat that he altered his direction to the north, but before he had sailed far in that direction, on the same day, July 14, 1498, he sighted the island of Trinidad and possessed it. The following Wednesday while replenishing his water supply upon the coast westward, he saw a low, blue misty land to the south. He named it "Ysla Sancta," a diminutive and intramural name for the giant land mass of South America, his continent at last!

Five days later a deputized number from his flagship landed and took possession of the soil of the mainland as an island. But his contract was fulfilled, though he was never vouchsafed absolute confirmation other than the conviction of his own great mind.

"Y vuestras Altezas ganaron estas terras tantas qui son otro mundo," he says to his Sovereigns in his narrative of the Third Voyage.

"And your Highness will gain these lands which are ANOTHER WORLD!"

In the same narrative also,

"Y estoy creido que esta es tierra firme, grandissima, de que hasta hoy no se ha sabido."

"I am of the belief that this is continental land most vast and which has not been known up to this time."

In all his wanderings for six years over land and sea he had never encountered a metal weapon, a house of masonry,*

*On his fourth voyage he saw in the region of the "Catiba river" for the first time a "solid edifice" made of stone and plaster which the Admiral takes to be a relic of a by-gone age.

a government higher than the tribe, a piece of money, a written word or a clothed human being. India in point of civilization was rumored to be far superior to contemporaneous England and France; its refinement was said to be felt as far as its name was known. That this great spread of island and mainland, Adam-innocent, ignorant of all but the simplest forms of tribal government should be adjacent to a land abrim with ancient and all-pervading civilization was not possible. Truth asserted itself. Whether or not thereafter he continued to serve his Sovereigns with a hope of an India near-by,¹ the intelligence of Christopher Columbus stood up sturdily and spoke.

Meanwhile the enemies of the Admiral had been active in Castile, and Bobadilla, a vicious and arrogant politician was sent by the Sovereigns to investigate the charges of inefficiency brought against the Admiral because of conditions in Española. On arrival at the new colony Bobadilla placed Columbus under arrest and returned him to Spain in chains.

Historians place the responsibility of this indignity entirely upon Bobadilla. An effort was made by the friends of the Admiral to remove the irons after Columbus had been placed upon shipboard but he refused to allow it. In his dramatic manner he insisted on wearing them as a reproach to his enemies and as an evidence of the ingratitude of men and princes.

When he obtained a hearing from his Sovereigns he was again restored to his status and despatched on his fourth and last voyage. He sailed May 9, 1502.

The purpose of this expedition was to establish Spain's

1. In the narrative of Diego de Porras it is explicitly charged that Columbus took the charts of the region from the sailors who made them. It is evident that he did not wish the Sovereigns to arrive at conclusions of their own about his India.

right to South America and to settle new lands. The Admiral was given four ships and dependable crews and told to remain away from Española.

Circumstances, however, brought him to the new colony and Bobadilla would not permit him to land. Twenty-eight ships under Bobadilla were lying in the roadstead ready to depart for Castile with accumulated treasure. Signs of a storm of characteristic West Indian severity were prevalent and Columbus sent a messenger warning the commander of the fleet of the danger and urged him not to weigh anchor. His advice was not heeded and his prophecy was ridiculed. Columbus sought shelter in a snug harbor and made all things safe. The fleet of twenty-eight treasure-laden ships with Bobadilla set sail. In a few hours the storm developed and every vessel with every soul on board including Bobadilla was lost. Columbus and his ships escaped without harm.

So far as the Discoverer was concerned it was an occurrence not without a fortunate aspect. Had Bobadilla reached Spain he would have reopened the prosecution of the Admiral, and, Isabella's death occurring shortly, the Admiral would have had no friend at court.

Upon this voyage, Columbus was to learn that truth which was to unseat the final deception he entertained of his globe and its dimensions.

He was once more upon the mainland, this time upon the Isthmus of Panama among Indians at the mouth of the Veragua river. He was told that he was within nine days' journey by land to another sea that washed the western slope of the land.

Las Casas commenting on the Admiral's Journal says:

"Item: The sea surrounds Ciguare which ought to be

some city or province of the dominion belonging to the Grand Khan and ten days' journey from there was the river Ganges, and as one of the provinces which the Indians indicated as rich in gold was the province of Veragua, the Admiral believed that those countries were situated in relation to Veragua as Tortosa is to Fuenterarabia as if he understood that one was on one sea and the other on another. Thus it appears that the Admiral imagined that there was another sea which we now call the South Sea and in this he was not deceived, although he was in all other things."

The Admiral's own words are, translated:

"They say, moreover, that the sea boils* in the said province of Ciguare and that from there it is ten days' journey to the river Ganges. It seems that these lands stand in relationship to Beragua as Tortosa stands in relationship with Fuenterarabia or as Pisa with Venice."

The reader consulting maps of Spain and northern Italy and of Panama will be struck with the soundness of the Admiral's comparisons.

This statement of the Indians quoted and illustrated by the Admiral evidently did not reach cartographers of the next score of years, or failed to impress them if it did. Maps until 1520 allowed only for a strait between the South American land body and the Asiatic continent. The probabilities are that they were convinced by the Admiral's own statement near the middle of his "Lettera Rarissima" in which he reiterates his belief that the world is not as large as commonly supposed. It is at this time that he must have made disposition of his problem. He has the proportions given him by Esdras of land and sea; he has Sovereigns to satisfy that India is now acces-

*Foams.

sible to them; these upon one hand. On the other he has all that he has seen, all that he has reasoned, all that he surmises in his sagacious and discerning mind to reconcile.

He must have known positively that he was upon continental land, not Asia, and that a body of water at least a ten days' sail in width lay between him and Cathay. In the light of these indisputable facts supported by the Admiral's own words, it seems advisable to dismiss as false the ancient tradition that Columbus died in ignorance of his discovery and believing that he had reached India.

Why he did not take up a march at once across Panama to the opposite side is easily explained. His ships were crazy, his food exhausted and the folk he encountered on the mainland were not the simple savages of the West Indies. There is something pathetic in his sailing away from that mighty rumor that he had heard to take up the roundabout rambling over the sea. Perhaps what was left to him of life was more to his liking than an end on the limitless breast of the Pacific, or an open admission to the Sovereigns that he had found yet between his New World and India thousands of leagues of mighty world-girth.

Having taken possession of Ciguare with its mines of gold, he sailed away to explore the north. Storm and accident stranded him on Jamaica. He sent a real hero by the name of Diego Mendez across a hundred miles of wilderness and furious sea to Española for ships. The man made the trip overland and by canoe and discharged his mission to the letter. The Admiral and his exhausted crews were rescued after months of waiting by a ship that Mendez had bought with Columbus' money and by one sent by Ovando, governor of Española.

It was while waiting on rescue that he called into use his astronomical knowledge and frightened the recalcitrant natives into providing his men with food, by predicting an eclipse of the moon.

It is not probable that the Admiral made the calculation himself. The chances are that he carried with him one of Johannes Muller's *Calendarium*, a book issued in 1474, which calculated eclipses and movements of the heavenly bodies years in advance. In his "Book of Prophecies" Columbus mentions eclipses twice, adding enough personal observations to warrant the belief that he knew and understood astronomy.

In his new ships he returned to Española where he was kindly received, but his wound had opened afresh,* gout afflicted him, and his years weighed upon him. He returned to Spain in November of 1504.

He had fulfilled the terms of his contract. If he had not opened an ocean route to India it was the fault of the configuration of the globe not his own. He had delivered a new hemisphere, the richest on the globe to Spain. This done, the ungrateful survivor of the party of the second part, Ferdinand, refused to live up to his terms.

Christopher Columbus, one of the greatest scientists of all times, part owner of half the globe, died in poverty and mental disquiet, as somehow they always die who achieve mightily for mankind.

When he left Palos in August, 1492, he was the foremost

*There is no account of a wound in all the history of the Admiral but when the casket containing his ashes was opened twenty-five or thirty years ago a bullet of lead weighing an ounce was found in his dust. The presumption is that he was wounded at some period of his life, when he was obscure and roving, and the bullet was never removed.

thinker of the day; when he landed on Watling's Island he was a bewildered, ignorant man on the threshold of immense facts old and new. When he dragged himself from the ship he had bought with his own money, in the harbor of San Lucar de Barrameda, in Spain, he was again the foremost thinker of the day, for he had learned mightily, more than he chose to tell the world or his friend among the Sovereigns of Spain. He knew his people, his times and his monarchs. When he uncovered continental land unknown to that hour, he recognized that he had not opened a way for trade with India, nor revealed the whereabouts of the gorgeous cities of Quinsay and Zaiton to the avaricious age. Instead he had given it treasure greater than the fabulous wealth of many Indias but a virgin wealth that had to be gained by toil and pains. This was hardly welcomed by that people accustomed to profit without labor. He deemed it wise to keep his greatest knowledge within himself.

He lived before Tycho Brahe, before Copernicus, before Galileo and before Newton. Available scientific facts to guide him were fewer than those in the knowledge of the school-boy to-day. But he had a vision that could penetrate the dark without help. His was a twilight age and in spite of intimidation, in spite of injustice and vast difficulty, he lessened the obscurity so that all men might see.

Note—Acknowledgment is made to John Boyd Thatcher's "Christopher Columbus" for translations in this article.

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BY

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN, LAWYER

It is not so many years since a simple-minded country lawyer from the prairies of Illinois, standing before the Capitol, pledged himself, for a second time, to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." He had walked through the valley of the shadow of death, and the people to whom he spoke had walked with him. A sudden sunshine fell upon his care-worn face as he closed his appeal: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations." Four years earlier, standing before a multitude who neither understood nor trusted him, he had said to his "dissatisfied fellow countrymen:" "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Ever since, men have asked the questions: Who taught him? Where did he gain the power to say so simply the words that have stayed in the memories and hearts of men through all these years?

There was nothing extraordinary about it. This simple-minded country lawyer had sprung from good Southern stock. The Lincolns had been pioneers in New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, and they included in their connection men of mark and men of character. Abraham Lincoln had the training of a devoted stepmother, the encouragement of loyal friends, and the inspiration of a brilliant rival who was likewise his friend. Poverty had beset him and had spurred him to success. How this discipline made a lawyer of him, and how his training at the law made him what he was, it is the purpose of this paper to show.

His Indiana boyhood gave him the same opportunities that came to other Hoosier boys. When, in his eagerness to know what the outside world was doing, he ran to the roadside to hail the passing emigrant and ask questions, his father thought him lazy and drove him back to his work. And when, late at night, he lingered by the fireplace to ask other questions of the wayfarer who had come out of the busy East, his father failed to understand, and banished him, reluctant, to his bed, where he left the world of conscious learning for the world of dreams in which he chiefly lived.

"I remember," this boy has said, "how when a mere child, I used to get irritated when anybody talked to me in a way I could not understand. I do not think I ever got angry at anything else in my life; but that always disturbed my temper. I can remember going to my little room, after hearing the neighbors talk of an evening with my father, and spending no small part of the night walking up and down trying to make out the exact meaning of their, to me, dark sayings. I could not sleep, although I tried to, when I got on such a hunt for an idea, until I had caught it; and when I thought I had got it I was not satisfied until I had repeated it over and over

again; until I had put it in language plain enough, so I thought, for any boy I knew to comprehend. This was a kind of passion with me, and it has stuck by me, for I am never easy now when I am handling a thought, till I have bounded it north, and bounded it south, and bounded it east, and bounded it west."

At four years old, at ten, at fourteen, and at seventeen, each time for perhaps a month, the boy whose ambition was to learn to express a thought so plainly "that any boy he knew could comprehend" was permitted to go to school. His teachers were not educational specialists,* but they were men of affairs who stimulated public spirit and ambition in the boy. The influence of these men of affairs, as well as of the groups of the illiterate, who, at the country store of Gentryville, admiringly drew the boy out, is not to be ignored by one who would trace Lincoln's talents to their sources.

It is said that Lincoln as a boy used to walk fifteen miles to Boonville to attend court. On one of these occasions he was so impressed with the brilliant conduct of his case by a lawyer named Brackenridge that he introduced himself (but the ungainly youth made no progress in the acquaintance) and got snubbed. Forty years later at the White House, President Lincoln reminded Mr. Brackenridge of the trial which had left such a deep impression on his mind. It was in these country courts in Indiana and Illinois that there gathered from miles around men into whose colorless lives the incidents

*They were Zachariah Riney, who is buried within the Trappist monastery of Gethsemane, and Crawford, a lifelong resident of Spencer county, Indiana, and a justice of the peace, and Dorsey, coroner and county treasurer, library and bridge trustee, who led in every movement for the public good, and the boy's friend, John Pitcher, legislator and judge, who lent him the Indiana statutes and planted in his breast that interest in the law for which he came to hunger and thirst as for righteousness itself.

of a trial at law brought much that was of absorbing interest. "The court rooms were always crowded," writes Mr. Arnold,* Lincoln's colleague and biographer. "To go to court and listen to the witnesses and lawyers was among the chief amusements of the frontier settlement. At court were rehearsed and enacted the tragedy and comedy of real life. The court room answered for the theater, concert hall, and opera, of the older settlements. The judges and lawyers were the stars, and wit and humor, pathos and eloquence, always had appreciative audiences."

In 1830 came the migration to Illinois. The boy, now twenty-one, took the lead, driving the oxen, and peddling from house to house the little stock of notions he had laid in for this matchless commercial opportunity. He was spokesman as well as leader, and plied every wayfarer with questions about the doings of men in the political and social life of the sociable West.

In Indiana Abraham Lincoln, being under twenty-one, had been his father's serf. In the Land of Full Grown Men—for that was the meaning of the Indian name Illinois—he was now emancipated by law. For a few years more he was still to do the bidding of other men as laborer and clerk. As his thirst for knowledge, his social instinct, and his ambition, brought him more and more into the fellowship of men, he was not slow to abandon the "hired man's" job and begin to climb.

The story of the Black Hawk war of 1832, young Lincoln winning his captaincy by his physical prowess, as Saul and David won their kingdom, is the story of Lincoln's awakening to the possibilities of a political career. On this summertime

*Isaac N. Arnold, "Reminiscences of the Illinois Bar, Forty Years Ago," in *Fergus' Historical Series*, Vol. 23, No. 14 (Chicago, 1881).

frolic he won renown as an athlete and a teller of stories. He was not averse to earning a dollar in a foot race or a wrestling match, but what was more to the point, he gained among those two or three thousand pioneer soldiers the good will of many who in later years were to be his supporters in politics, his clients, and his colleagues at the law. Here too he won the friendship of his major, John T. Stuart, who, two years later served with him in the Illinois legislature. Major Stuart was already a successful practitioner. Stuart encouraged Lincoln to study law, and after the election lent him books. These the young man carried with him as he walked back and forth between Springfield and New Salem. Both before the session and later, when, the burdens of state being laid aside, the princely income of three dollars a day became no longer available, he plunged into his studies. He was admitted to the bar and removed to Springfield in 1837. The advertisement in the *Sangamo Journal*, dated April 12, 1837, proclaims that

"J. T. Stuart and A. Lincoln, Attorneys and Counsellors at Law, will practice conjointly in the courts of this judicial circuit. Office No. 4, Hoffman Row, upstairs."

The first circuit extended from Alton to the Wisconsin line. Despite the paucity of population and the difficulties of transportation, it offered a tempting field for professional activity. These very obstacles made opportunities for him. He thrived on hardships and exposure, and made his iron constitution and his gigantic physical strength serve his clients' necessities as no other lawyer of that day could.

Before his removal to Springfield, Lincoln had served two terms in the legislature; and had been postmaster under a democratic president. The meager income from this source was increased substantially by a three dollar per diem earned by him as deputy under a democratic county surveyor, John

Calhoun, who afterwards made a name for himself in the flaming pre-war politics of Kansas. The surveys of Petersburg and Albany, Illinois, are among those on file in the records of Menard and Logan counties, with the certificate of A. Lincoln as deputy under John Calhoun and another county surveyor, T. M. Neale. These two positions enabled him to continue his studies and to undertake a mercantile venture whose early collapse burdened him for years with what he was wont to call "the national debt."

A customer at this store of Berry and Lincoln at New Salem might have sought in vain for Berry, the drunkard. Lincoln he might have found lying on his back in the grass—feet propped high against the shady side of a tree, and lank body slowly squirming about to keep out of the sun,—his mind so absorbed in Blackstone that he seemed wholly indifferent to business. It was while he was managing partner of Berry and Lincoln's department store that he started his law library. As he tells it: "A man who was migrating to the west drove up with a wagon which contained his household plunder. He asked if I would buy an old barrel, . . . which he said contained nothing of special value. I paid a half dollar for it, put it away, and forgot all about it. Some time after, I came upon the barrel and emptying it I found at the bottom a complete edition of Blackstone's Commentaries. I began to read those famous works and I had plenty of time, for during the long summer days when the farmers were busy with their crops, my customers were few and far between. The more I read, the more intensely interested I became. Never in my life was my mind so absorbed."

From this unpromising beginning to the far-off day in 1864, when he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Princeton University, the evolution of the lawyer is the story

of patient growth in that fine sense for the feeling of others and a recognition of their point of view which marks the gentleman,—a spiritual growth, and a growth in wisdom and in power.

Two letters, written years later, throw some light on his method of preparing for the law. To a young friend he wrote in 1855:

"If you are resolutely determined to make a lawyer of yourself the thing is more than half done already. It is a small matter whether you read *with* anybody or not. I did not read with any one. Get the books and read and study them till you understand them in their every feature, and that is the main thing. It is of no consequence to be in a large town while you are reading. I read at New Salem, which never had three hundred people in it. The *books* and your *capacity* for understanding them are just the same in all places. . . . Always bear in mind that your own resolution to succeed is more important than any other one thing."

To another he wrote in 1860:

"Yours asking the 'best method of obtaining a thorough knowledge of the law' is received. The mode is very simple, though laborious and tedious. It is only to get the books and read and study them carefully. Begin with Blackstone's Commentaries and after reading it through, say twice, take up Chitty's Pleadings, Greenleaf's Evidence, and Story's Equity, etc., in succession. Work, work, work, is the main thing."

Earlier in his career than the Blackstone incident is the acquisition, by some process now forgotten, of the Indiana Revised Statutes of 1824. This was probably Lincoln's first law book. Its value to the young lawyer must have been political rather than professional. It contained the Declaration of Independence, the Ordinance of 1787 creating the North-

west Territory, the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of Indiana. In the Ordinance of 1787, and in the Indiana constitution, he first found formal, authoritative expression of the people's disapproval of slavery. The constitutional provision was as follows:

"As the holding of any part of the human creation is slavery . . . can only originate in usurpation and tyranny, no alteration of this constitution shall ever take place so as to introduce slavery . . . in this state."

This book doubtless came into his hands in Indiana, whither his father had migrated from Kentucky to escape the competition of slave labor, and there is little doubt that its provisions against slavery, as well as those for reclaiming fugitive slaves, helped to determine his attitude on a question which absorbed so large a part of his life. It is said to have been given him by John Pitcher of Rockport.

At New Salem Lincoln boarded with a justice of the peace who bore the odd name of Bowling Green, and studied Kirkham's Grammar under Menter Graham, the impecunious village schoolmaster, and read and committed to memory the poems of Burns and the plays of Shakespeare which he borrowed from Graham. New Salem is no longer even a deserted village. The store where Lincoln kept post office and created "the national debt" is demolished and, board by board, is being made over into souvenirs. The village is no longer even a memory to the octogenarians of Menard county.

In the files of the Circuit Court at Petersburg, a mile from New Salem, is still to be seen a declaration in Lincoln's handwriting, in the case of Nancy Green versus Menter Graham which shows how the young lawyer had to shut his eyes to Menter Graham's claims upon his friendship in order to serve Nancy Green's necessities. A facsimile, or "sick family" as Lincoln called it, accompanies this paper.

Before justices of the peace, in the circuit courts of forty-five different counties in Illinois, and occasionally in Indiana, in the federal courts of Illinois, Ohio and probably Missouri, in the state and federal supreme courts, the practice that Abraham Lincoln built up in twenty years was remarkable. In the court reports and in the *nisi prius* dockets is to be found every conceivable variety of cases.*

It would be a mistake to imagine that there were not plenty of lawyers to conduct the litigation, or that there was any monopolizing of the practice by a few men. Thus, in Eighth Illinois, containing cases decided in 1845 and 1846, Lincoln had seventeen cases, but eighty-three other lawyers in the same volume had from one to sixteen cases each. When Tenth Illinois was published in 1849, a thousand lawyers were enrolled in the Supreme Court of the State. "The days of men's innocence" had already passed.

The office docket, containing a partial account of the transactions of the three firms of Stuart and Lincoln, Logan and Lincoln, and Lincoln and Herndon, between 1838 and 1860, is still to be seen at Springfield. It contains some four hundred entries of service rendered, omitting many cases in

*Some of the subjects of these cases may be of interest; jurisdiction of justice of the peace, the validity of a slave as the consideration for a promissory note, enforcement of gambling debts, seduction, fraud, sale of real estate of decedent, guardianships, mortgage and mechanic's lien foreclosure, divorce, specific performance, suretyship, county seat wars, ejectment, wills, the defense and sometimes the prosecution of crimes, damages for personal injuries, for prairie fires, rescission, slander, fees and salaries, mandate, *quo warranto*, injunction, replevin, patents, taxation, insurance, carriers, partition, liquor questions, political questions, statute of frauds, railway stock subscriptions, eminent domain, trusts and trustees, questions of constitutional law, and procedure at law and in chancery. In the circuit courts, where Lincoln was often employed at the time the case was called for trial no case seemed too small to command his service. The trials in that day indicated a litigious disposition in the community which has happily disappeared with the advance of civilization.

which we know Lincoln to have been employed. The extent of these employments it is impossible now to learn, for the federal court records of Judges Pope and Treat and Justice McLean were destroyed in the Chicago fire and the court dockets in many counties fail to indicate the names of counsel, while in all the records are incomplete.

Mr. Frederick Trevor Hill, in his admirable work, *Lincoln the Lawyer*, publishes a list of 172 cases in the Illinois Supreme Court, in which Lincoln's name appears as attorney of record. To this list three others should be added:

Cunningham vs. Fithian, in 6th Ill., 269. (His name was omitted by the official reporter. See 7 Ill., 650) and State of Illinois vs. Illinois Central, etc., Co., 27 Ill., 64, and Walker vs. Herrick, 18 Ill., 570, a suit brought and won for the Illinois Central Railroad Co., under his direction.

In relation to the foregoing, the Illinois Central Railroad Company, in a brochure, privately published, mentions Walker vs. Herrick, 18 Ill., 570, a suit involving the validity of certain land grants which was brought upon Lincoln's advice and won upon the theory advanced by him in his written opinion given to the railroad company in 1856.

The reports of the Supreme Court of the United States contain several Illinois cases in which the names of counsel are not given. Three of Lincoln's cases are there reported, however.

United States vs. Chicago,* 7 How. (U. S.) 185; Lincoln for appellee.

Lewis, for the use of Nicholas Longworth vs. Lewis, 7 How. (U. S.) 775; Lincoln for appellee.

Forsyth vs. Reynolds, 15 How. (U. S.) 358; Lincoln for defendant.

*That Lincoln appeared in this case although his name is omitted from the official report is stated on the authority of the Clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the reports of the federal courts, incomplete as they were, thirteen of his cases appear.**

From these reported cases it would seem that Lincoln was open to the charge of being a corporation lawyer, which in these later days of class-conscious democracy is an obstacle to political advancement. At a time when corporations carried on but a small part of the business or the litigation, his regular clientage included all classes of municipal corporations, besides mercantile and manufacturing companies, banks, insurance companies and railroads—the last named including the Illinois Central, the Atlantic, the Alton and Sangamon, and the Tonica and Petersburg roads.

His request for a renewal of his pass as attorney for the Alton is in his characteristic humor:

**These are:

Lincoln vs. Tower, 2 McLean, 473; Lincoln for plaintiff.

January vs. Duncan, 3 McLean, 19; Logan & Lincoln for plaintiff.

Sturtevant vs. City of Alton, 3 McLean, 393; Logan & Lincoln for defendant.

Lewis vs. Administrators of Broadwell, 3 McLean, 568; Logan & Lincoln for defendant.

Voce vs. Lawrence, 4 McLean, 203; Lincoln for plaintiff.

Lafayette Bank vs. State Bank of Illinois, 4 McLean, 208; Lincoln for plaintiff.

Moore vs. Brown, 4 McLean, 211; Lincoln for defendant.

Kemper vs. Adams, 5 McLean, 507; Logan for plaintiff. Lincoln for defendant.

United States vs. Prentice, 6 McLean, 65; Logan & Lincoln for defendant.

Columbus Insurance Co. vs. Peoria Bridge Ass'n, 6 McLean, 70; Lincoln for plaintiff. Logan for defendant.

United States vs. Railroad & Bridge Co., 6 McLean, 516; Lincoln for defendant.

McCormick vs. Manny, 6 McLean, 539; Lincoln for defendant.

"Feb. 13/56

R. P. Morgan, Esq.

Dear Sir,

Says Tom to John 'Here's your old rotten wheelbarrow, I've broke it usin' on it. I wish you would mend it case I shall want to borrow it this arter-noon.'

Acting on this as a precedent, I say, 'Here's your old 'Chalked Hat.'* I wish you would take it and send me a new one; case I shall want to use it the first of March.'

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN."

Of the one hundred and seventy-five cases in the Illinois reports he won ninety-two and lost eighty-three; of the ten cases in McLean's reports (U. S. Cir. Ct.) whose final decision is given he won seven; and of the three cases in the U. S. Supreme Court he won two.

In the legislature of 1834 Lincoln served with John T. Stuart, Stephen T. Logan and Stephen A. Douglas. The legislature of 1836 brought together a remarkable group of great men, Lincoln and Douglas, Stuart and Logan, Edward D. Baker, afterwards senator from Oregon, Orville H. Browning, afterwards senator and Secretary of the Interior, James A. Shields, afterwards general in the Civil War and senator from three different states, John A. McClernand, afterwards congressman and general in the Civil War, Dan Stone, afterwards circuit judge but remembered only for the protest against slavery which he and Lincoln registered on the legislative journals of that session, William A. Richardson, later U. S. senator, John A. Logan, general and senator, and John J. Hardin,—all of them brilliant men and soon to become

*The vernacular for pass.

leaders of the bar of the young state. The chief value of this legislative experience to the young lawyer was in the opportunity it gave him to enlarge his acquaintance among his own profession. The laws passed from 1835 to 1839 did not call for the wisdom of Solon. Besides the internal improvement acts, about the only creative legislation then enacted is a series of statutes declaring Spoon River, Crooked River, The Snicarty, Skillet Fork, and others of their kind, to be navigable streams. And these enactments suggest Lincoln's familiar conundrum: "Calling a dog's tail a leg, how many legs has he?"

Lincoln came to Springfield penniless but by no means friendless. As one of the "Long Nine" from Sangamon County he had been the chief factor in their successful effort to remove the capital from Vandalia to Springfield, a service for which the people of Springfield did not lack appreciation. The invitation to a partnership with Major John T. Stuart was a compliment, and the new association gave him a position at the bar and in the community which would not otherwise have been his so soon. Although Stuart's long absences while campaigning and at Congress diminished the income of the firm, they threw responsibilities upon young Lincoln and gave him confidence in himself.

Lincoln was enrolled as a member of the bar of the Illinois Supreme Court on March 1, 1837. He was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States at the November term, 1848. He was never without a partner.

The partnership with Major Stuart commenced April 12, 1837,* and continued for four years.

*Stuart gives it April 27, 1837, but the advertisement in the *Sangamo Journal* is dated April 12, and is no doubt authoritative.

Stuart was two years older, a man of commanding presence, of dignified and courtly manners, quick to make friends and able to hold them loyally to himself. He was a graduate of a Kentucky college and an old-fashioned, polished gentleman, a successful lawyer, and always a politician. This intimate association of four years, with a common interest in the law and in politics, was worth much to the junior partner.

The old office docket for this period contains many entries of interest, showing the character of the early practice and the fees charged. An entry in 1838 reads: "Lincoln rec'd of Z. Peter \$2.81¼ cents which is taken in full of all *ballances* due up to this date." Another: "Johnson v. Gay. Forcible Detainer. Before Justice Clement. Paid Lincoln by board \$6."

A third shows a charge of \$7.50 for a proceeding to sell a decedent's real estate to pay debts, and a payment of the account in three installments.

The firm of Logan and Lincoln lasted from April 14, 1841, until September 20, 1843. Judge Logan had been circuit judge from 1835 to 1837 and had resigned his place at a salary of \$750 a year to take up what for some years was probably the largest general practice at the Illinois bar. He was nine years older than Lincoln. Elihu B. Washburne describes Logan as "A small thin man, with a little, wrinkled, wizened face, set off by an immense head of hair which might be called frowsy. He was dressed in linsey woolsey and wore very heavy shoes. His shirt was of unbleached cotton and unstarched and he never incumbered himself with a cravat. His voice was shrill, sharp, and unpleasant, and he had not a single grace of oratory; but when he spoke he always had interested and attentive listeners. Underneath this curious and grotesque exterior there was a gigantic intellect."

Just why the partnership was so brief has not been told. Perhaps Lincoln did not accommodate himself enough to Judge Logan's ideas and was too easy going and unmethodical, and too independent of any sort of restraint; perhaps the ambition of both men to go to Congress made it hard for them to work in harmony. At all events the firm prospered and Logan was its controlling spirit. Lincoln was an unsuccessful candidate for the congressional nomination during this period, although later he was elected for one term. Logan became his successor on the Whig ticket, but was defeated. The only pleadings of the firm to be found in the files of Sangamon county are in Judge Logan's handwriting. Unless Lincoln's autographs of this period have been stolen, this would indicate that Logan kept the reins of authority in his own hands. Practically all of the pleadings of Stuart and Lincoln and of Lincoln and Herndon—many of which I have seen—are in Lincoln's hand, and as clear as if written yesterday. They cover so many sheets, in the old Sangamon County files, and in some other counties where the thief has not yet been, that one wonders how Lincoln had time for anything else. All are written with laborious care. The apt word is used; there are singularly few corrections; and the sand then used as a blotter still clings to the sheets. The spelling is reasonably correct—much more so, at any rate, than that of George Washington in his autograph manuscripts.

It is easy to see, without reflecting on either partner, how these two positive characters, so unlike in many vital respects, found it hard to work together. And it is pleasant to remember that in later years, when Lincoln's giant struggle with Douglas had made him a world figure, Logan was his devoted friend, contributing of his fortune, as well as of his store of wisdom and influence, to the advancement of his former part-

ner and close friend, and, on that bitter day in April, 1865, offering the final tribute of the bar to the memory of the man they loved.

Lincoln's choice of Herndon for a partner seems a strange one after his close association with a man of Logan's character and ability, and particularly in view of Herndon's subsequent indifference to Lincoln's high repute. Herndon's father was Archie G. Herndon, one of "the Long Nine," and a politician of prominence at Springfield. And "Billy" Herndon, as he was called, was the cousin of "Row" Herndon of the Clarys Grove "gang" at New Salem, to whose support Lincoln owed his captaincy and his first legislative successes. The young lawyer had graduated at Jacksonville and had clerked in Joshua F. Speed's store where he was known as a scholarly youth with some native ability and more assurance. The recommendation of Speed, Lincoln's only intimate friend, and a sense of loyalty toward the friends of his earlier days had their influence. No doubt, too, being self-taught and timid about his own attainments, Lincoln attached undue importance to the young man's college training. Herndon helped in the trial of their earlier cases—much as a law clerk would—and drove to Petersburg and nearby county seats in the circuit, sometimes with Lincoln and sometimes alone. But, although sharing equally in the earnings of the firm, he was not looked upon as an equal participant in its responsibilities, and,—so we are told by a client of the firm—was not consulted about important matters when Lincoln was absent. But for the Herndon biography, the intimacy of the association would, perhaps, be forgotten.

In Springfield, the Supreme Court in the forties sat twice a year, where the law required it to "continue until the business before it shall be disposed of." The library was in the court

room. Here the lawyers from all over the state, gathered to look up their authorities, prepare their arguments, and, in the evenings, to hold reunions. At these gatherings Lincoln was the center of an interested group. His stories amused them, and his talk, especially when stimulated by the congenial companionship and *esprit de corps* of the bar of that day, always commanded attention.

Lincoln's first case in the Illinois reports, decided in 1840, was *Scammon v. Cline*, 3 Ill., 456. It had been tried before Judge Dan Stone in Boone County and won below by Lincoln's client, but was reversed by the Supreme Court. It was a J. P. appeal, and in the circuit court it was dismissed on technical grounds set up by Lincoln. One of the Supreme judges who reversed the case was Stephen A. Douglas, then only twenty-seven years old, and the Judge Stone who decided it below, was the man who had joined with Lincoln in protest in the legislature of 1837 against the extension of slavery.

His last case in that court was *State vs. Illinois Central R. R. Co.*, 27 Ill., 63, involving the principle that railway property must be taxed at its present, and not at its prospective value, and that the inquiry should be, what it is worth for the purposes for which it was designed and not for any other purposes to which it might be applied.

Between these two cases are several in which new and important principles were established by Abraham Lincoln.*

*Among these are:

Bryan vs. Wash, 7 Ill., 557, which has been cited and followed eighty-five times.

Griggs vs. Gear, 8 Ill., 2, cited 51 times.

Perry vs. McHenry, 13 Ill., 227, cited 47 times.

Ross vs. Irving, 14 Ill., 171, cited 33 times.

Illinois Central R. R. Co. vs. Morrison, 19 Ill., 136, cited 24 times.

A list of these will be found in the appendix.

It is said that Lincoln was not learned in the law. True it is that in those days the publication of court decisions was no such splendid riot of woodpulp and electrotype as it is today. But the text books of Greenleaf and Story and Parsons were both law and literature, and the libraries accessible to attorneys were not made up then of machine made books compiled and edited vicariously as they are today.

With the library of the Supreme Court just across the street, there was no need for many books in the dismal room where Lincoln and Herndon held forth. Though absent from his Springfield office much of the time, Lincoln had access to all the books that are the recognized classics of English and American law. These he must have known familiarly for he cited them continually in his briefs.

The list includes the *Indiana Revised Statutes* of 1824, Chitty's *Pleading*, Kent's and Stephen's *Commentaries*, Greenleaf on *Evidence*, Parsons on *Contracts*, Redfield on *Railways*, Angell & Ames on *Corporations*, Angell on *Limitations* and Story's *Equity*.

The Springfield law office has been described many times. In the reminiscences of the late J. B. Bennett of Cincinnati, published in *Rough Notes*, volume 41, at page 78, appears this description of the man in his office:

"At the top of the stairway you directly entered a long room, destitute of every honest claim to be titled an office. It was a low, black, schooner sort of an affair—dusty, dingy, and destitute of ornament, unless the lawyer's old rusty stove, like the one horse shay, ready to collapse, might be so construed. The front part of the room, while absolutely barren, was nevertheless impressibly full of emptiness. At the back part was a large pine table. On this table were a few law

books, scattered in appropriate disorder. Towards the end of the table, uncommonly tall, stood a giant man intently reading a law book, impressing the spectator with the idea that the man was either too tall for the room or that the ceiling was too low for the man. The book he was reading was slightly inclined so as to catch the faint rays of light on the pages from a rear window. The shade and background of the whole with the somber hue of the reader, made a very dark picture, and the man stood like a silhouette, excepting a momentary flash of the eye which he gave to the intruder and then continued his reading. That glance of the eye was the only recognition or sign of life."

Mr. Arnold* describes the man thus:

"Lincoln was . . . six feet, four inches in height and would be instantly recognized as belonging to that type of tall, large-boned men, produced in the Northern part of the Mississippi Valley, and exhibiting its peculiar characteristics in the most marked degree in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Illinois. In any Court-Room in the United States he would instantly have been picked out as a Western man. His stature, figure, dress, manner, voice, and accent, indicated that he was of the North-West. In manner he was always cordial and frank, and, although not without dignity, he made every person feel quite at his ease. I think the first impression a stranger would get of him, whether in conversation, or by hearing him speak, was, that this is a kind, frank, sincere, genuine man; of transparent truthfulness and integrity: and before Lincoln had uttered many words, he would be impressed with his clear good sense, his remarkably simple, homely, wit and humor."

*Isaac N. Arnold, "Reminiscences of the Illinois Bar, Forty Years Ago," in *Fergus' Historical Series*, Vol. 2, No. 14, p. 145, (Chicago, 1881).

Mr. S. Wesley Martin, afterward of California, has described Lincoln's manner and looks :

"He was a convincing speaker. He used no gestures, except that occasionally he would extend his long right arm and point with his index finger at the people in a way that seemed to say, 'Don't you see?'

"I shall never forget how Lincoln was dressed. His coat was of black glossy alpaca. It seemed to be several inches too short for him, and he buttoned the lowest button so that the upper part of the coat spread outward as if to make room for something to be tucked in at the sides. The hat was a tall stove pipe and had evidently seen better days. It looked as if a calf might have gone over it with its wet tongue."

When he appeared on the platform or in the parlor he showed his respect for his audience or his associates by dressing properly and in a way that would have been wholly incompatible with the dust or mire of the prairie roads.

Lincoln's reputation as a lawyer was made between 1840 and 1854. From traveling the Eighth Circuit and the counties adjoining he extended his practice into every part of the state, until, with the added fame which his debates with Douglas in 1858 brought him, there were many points in Illinois where in every important case it was considered necessary to engage the services of Mr. Lincoln. One cannot overestimate the value of this hard life on the circuit both as discipline developing the man's powers and as an avenue toward that extraordinary personal acquaintance which meant so much to him in his political struggles later on.

The supreme court was in session only a few days in the year, and the circuit court at Springfield sat for only a few weeks. The rest of the year he "rode the circuit" by stage and on horseback until he could afford a buggy, visiting each

of the fourteen towns regularly and extending his journey to almost as many adjoining towns.

The life on the road, hard as it was, with judge, lawyers, witnesses, hangers-on, and even prisoners, traveling together and eating and sleeping together, the food unspeakable, and rest unknown, must, nevertheless, have had its compensating joys. That was no ordinary company. It was not unlike the pilgrimage to Canterbury. There was David Davis, the companionable judge, who knew the law, and who loved a laugh. And there were Logan the scholarly, and Stuart, the shrewd and kindly, Swett, the clever, and Browning, the handsome, and Lamon, the amusing, and Weldon, and Gridley, and Parks, and Harmon, and Ficklin, and Linder, and Whitney, and Oliver L. Davis, and the best beloved Abraham Lincoln. Some of them traveled to only two or three counties, but David Davis and Lincoln went the whole circuit, Davis because he had to, and Lincoln because he loved it.

"I well recollect," says Mr. Whitney, in his *Life of Lincoln*, "a term of court at Urbana, where a prisoner on trial for perjury used to spend his evenings with us in the judge's room, and a term at Danville where a prisoner on trial for larceny not only spent his evenings in our room, but had his meals with us and took walks in our immediate company."

The courts in the fourteen counties commenced in September, and continued until midsummer, sitting in each town from two days to a week.

Leonard Swett says: "I rode the Eighth Judicial Circuit with Lincoln for eleven years, and in the allotment between him and the large Judge Davis in the scanty provision of these times, as a rule I slept with him. Beds were always too short, coffee in the morning burned or otherwise bad, food often indifferent, roads simply trails, streams without bridges

and often swollen, and had to be swam, sloughs often muddy and almost impassable, and we had to help the horses when the wagon mired down, with fence rails for pries."

Naturally the business of a court that sat for only a few days and then adjourned for six months had to be crowded through in such a way as to afford scant opportunity for preparation. Thus the rule of the Macon Circuit Court (1840) reads: "All issues are required to be made up on call of the cause for trial."

Judge Davis had little patience with technicalities. "'It appears to me,' Swett once commenced, in an argument on demurrer. 'I don't care how it appears to you,' was the judge's tart response. 'Hand up your authorities if you have any.'"

The lawyers were wont to follow the court from county to county, often without employment except what they picked up on arrival. Sometimes the harvest of cases would not pay the cost of the journey, and, again, after a lawyer's reputation as a case winner had become established, the business would be all that could be desired.

The trip to Tazewell county, seventy miles, as shown by the docket, cost \$21.25. To extend it to Decatur and Danville and Paris made the expense one which a less successful lawyer could not have afforded. The business that came to Lincoln on such a trip must sometimes have been disheartening. His first case at Decatur is *People v. Adkin*, in which the defendant, charged with larceny, having pleaded his inability to employ counsel, Judge Treat appointed Lincoln to defend. The trial, with Lincoln's kinsman, Hanks, on the jury, resulted in an acquittal. The only case at one term at Danville was *Murphenheim vs. Scott*, (1850), where the jury disagreed and the parties re-submitted the case and by agree-

ment suffered a verdict to be entered for seven dollars and a half, each party to pay half the costs—a commendable compromise, no doubt, and yet a meager feast to set before a lawyer who had traveled over a hundred miles on horseback. At the Fall term, 1852, at Danville, Lincoln's entire calendar consisted of three little cases. At Paris, the next week, his appearance is noted in nineteen different suits, which, for a term of five days, held one hundred and fifty miles from home, is no mean showing.

One feature of Judge Davis' itinerant court was his "night sessions." The lawyers, attracted to the town by the advent of the court, would find time hanging heavy on their hands and, at the afternoon adjournment, would be notified to return after supper. This would bring together the best of the story-tellers and the most entertaining of the talkers. Sometimes, to keep up the form of court proceedings and thus justify the called-session a mock trial would be had which would give the lawyers an opportunity for the once popular practical joke. It was at one of these sessions, known as the "orgmathorical court," that Judge Oliver Davis tried Abraham Lincoln, on the criminal side of the court, for impoverishing the bar by charging unreasonably low fees and by defending poor clients without pay. Lincoln was released with a severe reprimand and a suspended sentence.

"At these meetings," says "Uncle" Felix Ryan, of Lincoln, Illinois, "The lawyers would come to the court room and have fun together until the night was nearly gone. Many of the stories would be told by Mr. Lincoln. Judge Davis would sit there and pretend to read his docket until Lincoln would get him interested. I recall how Judge Davis' fat sides would shake with laughter as he said: 'Well, well, Mr. Lincoln, what next?'"

Squire J. T. Rudolph, of Lincoln, remembers when Judge Davis would call them all together as if to try cases, and the people of the town (Mt. Pulaski) would crowd in to enjoy an evening's entertainment as provided by the lawyers. Ward H. Lamon, (sometimes Lincoln's associate in the practice at Danville) was a good singer and would mount the big walnut table and sing and dance to the delight of everyone.

When the night sessions were not held, the bar would gather at the tavern, and, doubtless, to forget the misery of crowded beds and unspeakable meals, would keep the talk going all night long.

One of these taverns advertised, "Entertainment for Man and Beast," and like many of the rest discriminated in favor of the beast. Here decent and vulgar men mingled in admired confusion. Money was won and lost at cards, and stories hopelessly coarse had no less currency than those did whose wit and humor have made them immortal. To the promiscuous character of these gatherings is due no doubt the fact that over a half century later many stories are attributed to the civilized men of the company which never reached their ears.

It was during this period that an incident occurred of which Judge Blodgett, for many years United States Judge, is said to have told. It had rained for days, and when the company of circuit riders came to a swollen stream, apparently miles wide, Lincoln was the only one who knew the country well enough to act as guide. He saw his opportunity and agreed to conduct the party across if they would do exactly as he bade them. It was the boys' game of "follow my leader." The pledge was given and every lawyer had to strip, tie his clothes in a bundle, mount his horse, and follow on. This grotesque, naked company, including the cherubic figure of David Davis, and the giant form of Abraham Lincoln, wound

its way up and down the stream on horseback, until, much as Moses led the hosts of Israel through the Red Sea without wetting a garment, Lincoln conducted them to dry ground on the farther side of what they supposed was a flood, but which at no time rose higher than a horse's knees. One can imagine Lincoln's laugh at the threats of revenge which his associates uttered when they found what an absurd picture they had presented.

In many of these towns a few old men still live who tell with undiminished enthusiasm their recollections of that far off time. Some of the communities are not unlike what they were seventy years ago. Petersburg is still the home of the Rutledges, Greens, Clarys, and Armstrongs. And all over the circuit it was still possible in recent years to learn from men who knew Mr. Lincoln of incidents in his practice as yet unpublished.

"He was a very smart trial lawyer," Judge Lyman Lacey, of Havana, relates. "As he went along in easy fashion he admitted evidence offered by his opponents and conceded their points until it looked as if he had given his whole case away. 'I don't contest this point,' Lincoln would say. 'O! I'll freely admit that.' But all the time there would be one or more strong lines of defense left, and, after waving aside all that he had yielded, he would conclude: 'But here, gentlemen, is the real point in this case, and on it we rest our defense.'"

Judge Samuel C. Parke has noted this characteristic. He says: "In a closely contested case, in which he was assisting me, in his closing speech, he was extremely liberal in his admissions in favor of the defendant. We got a verdict for about two-thirds of our claim. I said to him: 'Lincoln, you admitted too much.' 'No,' he answered, 'That's what gained the case.'"

It is not easy to take a series of pleadings and the skeleton of an argument as we find them sixty years after and get from them any picture of the comedy or tragedy which was enacted when such a case was tried. Much must be left to the imagination. But to the imagination these old records sometimes suggest what may have happened. There is a case on the docket of Edgar County for 1850 entitled *Albin v. Bodine*, for slander. The record entries are: "Lincoln and Linder for defendant. Trial by jury. Verdict for defendant." But in the files is a faded sheet of legal cap in Lincoln's hand, entitled "Brief" which sets out the synopsis of points for the argument to the jury. And every point seems to be for the other side. This brief is a rare document, for its author had a tenacious memory and seldom used notes. Let us read some of these points:

"1st. Albin stole Blady's horse out of my pasture last night. He is a horse thief and that is what he came here for.

"6th. 'You know you stole that horse and it is not the first horse you have stolen; and I believe you follow the business.'

"9th. 'He is a damned little horse thief and his business is horse stealing, and he came here for that business and that is not the first horse he has stolen. He is a horse thief and I will send him to the penitentiary.'

"*James Murphy*. Dr. Albin stole the Priest's horse out of my pasture.

"*Crimen falsi.*"

One theory of the defense is that the defendant said all that he is charged with saying—"damned horse thief" and all—and that his counsel in one of his scathing philippics held the plaintiff up to deserved contempt, or by a series of brilliant sallies of wit laughed the plaintiff out of court. The other

is suggested by the two Latin words *Crimen falsi* at the end and hints at an argument charging perjury. And yet all that the record shows is the use of language of the most slanderous sort and a verdict for the defense.

"I have sat on the jury in his cases," Mr. Ryan, of Lincoln, Illinois, said to me: "He knew nearly every juror, and when he made his speech he talked to the jurors, one at a time, like an old friend who wanted to reason it out with them and make it as easy as possible for them to find the truth."

"He never talked long," said Mr. John Strong of Atlanta, Illinois, "In stating a disputed proposition he would say, not, 'This is the way it is,' but 'This is the way it seems to me,' thus allowing for an honest difference of opinion."

Judge S. A. Foley, of Lincoln, Illinois, in an intimate account of Lincoln, displayed a clear memory of his court-room manner. "When Lincoln examined a witness or addressed a jury, he had a peculiarly winning way of doing it. In an opening statement he seemed to take everybody into his confidence as though he proposed to keep nothing from them. In cross-examination he would first secure the witness' good will and then lead him gently along until he elicited from him the truth for which he was seeking. When he came to the argument he had something to say to each juror, and he led each one to believe that, as attorney, his only duty was *to help the jury* find the truth. Sometimes he made his point so plain with a story that there was no escaping his conclusion."

Because he reasoned his cases out it is not to be supposed that he lacked the graces of oratory. With the little audience in the jury box he began by feeling his way, studying the man addressed, and talking rather than speaking, until he felt sure that he was in complete accord with the men to whose judgment he was making his appeal. He was first of all a

reasoner. But he was, too, a man of wide sympathy and deep feeling and, once aroused, he was brilliant in ridicule, savage in assault, overwhelming in his emotional attack. It was the oratory of the forum, not the oratory of the platform or the stage.

Judge S. C. Parks had a large practice while Lincoln was riding the circuit. In a lecture before the University of Michigan he said:

"He was a great advocate and more successful at the bar than many men who knew more law than himself. . . . For this there were two reasons. One was that he was naturally fair minded, and, as a rule, would not advocate any cause which he did not believe to be just. Owing to this characteristic he would not knowingly take a case that was wrong, and if he ignorantly got into such a case he would generally refuse to prosecute or defend it after he had ascertained his mistake. He was intellectually honest. He would not advocate a cause in which he did not believe. He was the easiest lawyer to beat when he thought he was wrong that I ever knew. Soon after beginning to practice, I was employed to defend a man charged with larceny and Mr. Lincoln was employed to assist me. I really believed at the beginning of the trial that the man was not guilty. But the evidence was unfavorable, and at its close Mr. Lincoln called me into the consultation room and said: 'If you can say anything that will do our man any good, say it. I can't. If I say anything the jury will see that I think he is guilty and will convict him.' And so I proposed to the prosecutor to submit the case without argument. This was done. The jury disagreed, and before the case could be tried again the man died.

"In the same county Lincoln brought suit on an account and proved it without any trouble. Defendant's attorney then

produced a receipt in full from the plaintiff which clearly covered the account. Lincoln took the receipt, examined it till he was satisfied, and handed it back to the opposing attorney who proceeded to prove it; whereupon the presiding Judge (Treat) inquired: 'What do you say to that, Mr. Lincoln?' But Lincoln had quietly left the court house and gone to his hotel. The court sent for him, but he declined to return, saying to the sheriff: 'Tell Judge Treat that my hands are dirty and I want to wash them.' Owing to this habit of not advocating a bad case he had the advantage of feeling that he ought to gain the cases that he did advocate. He also had the advantage of having the confidence of the court and jury at the outset and the fairness and skill to keep it to the close."

The leader of this itinerant bar, without whose presence no gathering of men was complete, was not always to be found. He had a way of going off after the companionship of children. One of these old-time little boys described to me the serious way in which Mr. Lincoln would call for their opinion on political questions, and interrogate them regarding their personal hopes and ambitions, and advise with them as if he considered them to be men of mature judgment. He was particularly given to trying to find what impression the young fellows had of his arguments and those of Douglas, seemingly bearing in mind the ideal of his own youth that he must make his meaning so plain that any boy he knew could comprehend. Another of these boys has told of the delicious way in which he talked foolishness to them as he joined in their games of marbles or hand ball.

Mr. George S. Cole, of Danville, used to describe his first game of billiards: "Mr. Lincoln called me in to see the first billiard table set up in the town and said: 'Come on, Bub, let's play a game.' My awkwardness with the cue seemed to please him hugely."

"Nothing tickled him so much," said Uncle Felix Ryan, "as to get a prank on the boys. Once they stretched a rope across the walk, just high enough to catch his plug hat. He pretended to be very angry and ran all over the place until he had caught the boys, making them think he was going to punish them, and then took them into the store and stood treat."

Sometimes the semi-annual session of court was the occasion of social activity of a more formal character. A reception or ball would draw the gentlemen of the bar away from court room and tavern and into real society. Gentlewomen living sixty years after and still young in spirit, have recalled those occasions. They tell how Mr. Lincoln, seemingly careless of his appearance in the street and in court, was yet in society "a gentleman of the old school," who arose at once when a lady entered the room, and whose courtly manners would put to shame the easy-going indifference to etiquette which marks the twentieth century gentleman. One of them, who must have been a belle in the Fifties, told me how many a pretty girl would lead her escort from the dance to the card room because she wanted to listen to Mr. Lincoln's talk.

Says Mr. Arnold:*

"I must not omit to mention the old-fashioned, generous hospitality of Springfield—hospitality proverbial to this day throughout the state. Among others, I recall, with the sad pleasure, the dinners and evening parties, given by Mrs. Lincoln. In her modest and simple home . . . there was always, on the part of both host and hostess, a cordial and hearty Western welcome, which put every guest perfectly at ease. Mrs. Lincoln's table was famed for the excellence of many rare Kentucky dishes, and in season, it was loaded with

*Isaac N. Arnold, "Reminiscences of the Illinois Bar Forty Years Ago"; in *Fergus' Historical Series*, Vol. 2, No. 14, p.137-38 (Chicago, 1881).

venison, wild turkeys, prairie chicken, quail, and other game which was then abundant. Yet it was her genial manners and ever kind welcome, and Mr. Lincoln's wit and humor, anecdote, and unrivaled conversation, which formed the chief attraction."

The court room was not the only place where the lawyers made themselves useful. At Decatur, when the first piano was brought by wagon across the prairie, the adjournment of court, so Mrs. Jane Johns relates, furnished an anxious young lady with the skilled labor required to unload the big, delicate instrument. It was Mr. Lincoln who superintended the removal and his strong arms that lifted one end of the piano while a half dozen other brawny circuit riders handled the other end.

It was at this period that Lincoln wrote to his friend Speed: "I am so poor and make so little headway in the world that I drop back in a month of idleness as much as I gain in a year's sowing."

That was no day for specialists. The collection lawyer of seventy years ago won insubstantial rewards, although he did not hesitate to advertise for business. Even David Davis, soon to enter upon a long and brilliant judicial career, advertised in 1837 in the *Sangamo Journal*: "Notes and accounts entrusted to him for collection will meet with a most prompt attention." And Lincoln, in collecting six hundred dollars from Stephen A. Douglas under circumstances embarrassing to both, set the "minimum fee" precedent by charging three dollars and a half for the service.

A New York firm applied to Abraham Lincoln for a report on the financial condition of a neighbor. Mr. Lincoln replied as follows: "Yours of the 10th inst. received. I am well acquainted with Mr. ————— and know his circumstances. First of all he has a wife and baby; together, they ought to

be worth \$50,000 to any man. Secondly, he has an office in which there is a table worth \$1.50 and three chairs worth, say \$1. Last of all there is in one corner a large rat-hole, which will bear looking into.

Respectfully yours,

A. LINCOLN."

There are in circulation many authentic stories that were used by Lincoln to enforce an argument at law. But they have all been published long ago, along with many that are not authentic. Two of these are no doubt familiar, but they will serve to show Lincoln's method. They are reported by Miss Tarbell in her *Life of Lincoln* and by Mr. Hill in his *Lincoln the Lawyer*.

One of these is attributed to the late Judge Beckwith, of Danville. Lincoln was trying to make plain to the jury the legal effect of self-defense. "My client," he explained, "was in the fix of a man who was carrying a pitchfork along the country road when he was suddenly attacked by a vicious dog. In the trouble that followed the prongs of the pitchfork killed the dog. 'What made you kill my dog?' the farmer cried in rage. 'What made him try to bite me?' 'But why didn't you go at him with the other end of the pitchfork?' 'Why didn't he come at me with the other end of the dog?' The jury saw what self-defense meant.

Mr. T. W. S. Kidd, for many years court crier at Springfield, says he once heard a lawyer arguing to the jury the controlling authority of precedent. When Lincoln's turn came to answer he took up the argument from precedent in this way: "Old Squire Bagley from Menard came into my office once and said: 'Lincoln, I want your advice as a lawyer. Has a man that's been elected a justice of the peace a right to issue a marriage license?' I told him No, and he threw himself

back indignantly in his chair and said, 'Lincoln, I thought you was a lawyer. Bob Thomas and I had a bet on this thing, and we agreed to leave it to you, but if this is your opinion I don't want it, for I know a thunderin' sight better. I've been a Squire now eight years and I have done it all the time.' "

He once characterized an ultra-technical judge by saying "He would hang a man for blowing his nose in the street, but he would quash the indictment if it failed to state which hand he did it with."

Justice Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, has given us this story of Lincoln's sincerity:

Lincoln was defending a murder case. The act was so brutal, and the circumstantial evidence so complete that even Lincoln himself, after a most careful investigation, conceded that everything seemed to point to his client's guilt. He had thought a great deal on the case, he told the men in the jury box, and while it seemed probable that his client was guilty yet he was not sure. With those honest eyes of his he looked the jury in the face and said, "I am not sure. Are you?" It was an application of the rule of reasonable doubt which secured an acquittal.

A Kansas lawyer wrote some years ago: "My name originally was Patrick William Hackney, and I went by the name of Patrick or 'Pat' until we moved back to Illinois, where they changed it to William Patrick Hackney. My father, in 1850, and I met Mr. Lincoln on the street as he was returning from the Court House at the dinner hour—the first time they had met since father went to Iowa. They greeted each other very cordially indeed; father called him 'Abe' and he called father 'Jake,' father's name being Jacob. Father introduced me to him as his son 'Pat.' He was very tall and very slim. I remember that I thought he was the homeliest man that I

had ever seen. In the course of the conversation, after inquiring about each other, he said to father, 'I presume you know, Jake, I am a lawyer now.' Father said, 'Yes, I have heard of it.' He says: 'I am going to make a speech after dinner to a jury, and I wish you would come up and bring Pat with you.' Father told him he would.

"Father and I went to the Court House—it was the first time that I had ever been in a Court House—and took our seats. Mr. Lincoln was there when we arrived, but the Court had not yet opened. Judge Davis, of Illinois, was the Judge. I do not remember the name of the prosecutor. He was a small man in stature, and as I remember, rather heavier than slim, with long, wavy, black hair, and it seemed to me, with a wonderful vocabulary.

"The case was one in which two carpenters in a shop got into a dispute; one a little fellow, and the other a large man. It ended in a fight, in which the big fellow whipped the little one, he hollowed 'nough,' and the big fellow got off, as was the custom of that day, from the little one, and returned to his bench to work with his back to where the little man was working before the fight commenced, and where he was at the end of the fight. He got up, ran to his bench, grabbed a big file with no handle—files at that time ran out to a sharp point; I have seen many of them with simply a corn cob for a handle;—he grabbed this file without any handle on it, ran up behind the big fellow, and stabbed him in the back with it, and as I recollect now, came very near killing him. The little fellow was being prosecuted for that, and Lincoln was defending him.

"When Lincoln got up to speak he was wonderfully tall, I thought, and spare, and as I said, very homely, but it wasn't but a little bit until he had the Judge, who was a very large

man, shaking with laughter, as were the jury and the spectators, and he convinced me that the little fellow ought not to be convicted, but what he said to convince me, I don't remember.

"I afterwards went to Lincoln, Ill., the county seat having been changed from Mt. Pulaski there, to hear Mr. Lincoln and Douglas speak, in 1858. Our family library consisted of the Bible and the New York Tribune, which was a newspaper more than any of our neighbors had, and while I was a boy, I understood at that time the controversy over which the discussion arose as well as anybody, and a great deal more than nine tenths of those whom I knew or associated with, and I went down there to hear them. The arrangement was that Lincoln should speak in the forenoon, on a platform fixed in the Court House yard—he spoke from ten to twelve o'clock. I remember it as one of the marvelous speeches that I have ever listened to in my life. While I have thought that Lincoln was the homeliest man that I ever saw in repose, I believed then and I believe now, that he was the handsomest man I ever listened to make a speech, when he warmed up to his subject. I have never read a description of Lincoln of any kind that came within a thousand miles of describing him in action. He was simply grandeur itself.

"There was a circus in town that day from one till three, and it was arranged for Douglas to speak in the tent after the show . . . and I went for the purpose of securing a seat more than to see the show, because I was more interested in these two speeches than I was to see the show, even if I was a boy, and I had seen shows before. They ran a menagerie wagon out into the ring where the circus had been held, put a ladder up to it, took a small table up there, two chairs and two pitchers and a glass, and it was said that there was a quart of whiskey in one pitcher and a quart of water in the other.

Whether true or not, I don't know, but it was accepted as a fact at that time and I never heard anybody question it. It was the first time I had even seen Douglas. He and the chairman to be climbed that ladder on top of that wagon; the tent filled up until there was standing room for no more, and for three hours Douglas made one of his great speeches, and it was a great speech. He understood the art of appealing to the prejudices of his audience, and could do it successfully in a way that I have never heard any other man do, but boy as I was, knowing what I did on the questions involved, his subterfuges and want of candor were so marked that I could not help but notice it. The difference between the two men was so great that anyone with a discriminating mind would be able to detect the difference. Lincoln was open, honest, did not play to the galleries, but he drove the truth home with such power and force that there was no way of escaping it. I think that Douglas as an orator, so far as rhetorical flourish is concerned, adroitness and capacity to change quickly his position or defend an untenable one, never had his superior in my judgment, but he never was a match for Lincoln one moment."

The value which Lincoln put upon simplicity is summed up in the remark he made to Herndon: "If I can clear this case of its technicalities and get it properly swung to the jury, I'll win it." From this it is by no means to be inferred that he did not respect the requirements of the practice, or make use of the technical points in a case where occasion required it. He was a practical, well-trained lawyer, who accepted all proper employments and gave to his clients the benefit of his extraordinary mental and legal equipment. In his early struggles in justice's courts his discomfited opponents used to hint at pettifoggery, and in his supreme court arguments he was willing to win on questions of practice and what careless lawyers

call technicalities. Lawyers know that a neglect to take such advantage as the rules of the practice permit is a breach of the duty one owes to a client. And they know, too, that one who "plays the game" according to its rules may yet play fairly and honestly.

The traditions of Lincoln's humor in the trial of his cases are well established. In his early practice particularly he used his gifts as a raconteur and a mimic most effectively in demonstrating his points. The evidence of this is in the reminiscences of his colleagues and in oral tradition. Old men of middle Illinois still repeat his stories. But the actual court record of his humor is very slight. I only know of two illustrations. One is a figure probably employed by him in presenting a point of law to the supreme court in St. Louis, etc., *Railway Company against Dalby*, 19 Ill., 353, and is buried in the mass of a profound opinion by Judge Caton at page 374. It was a damage case brought by Lincoln against the railway company for assault committed in ejecting plaintiff from a car. The railway company contended that the corporation could not be liable for beating because it had no body to *be* beaten, and the court disposed of the question with this proposition—no doubt advanced by Lincoln: "As well might it be said that a man cannot commit a rape because he cannot be the subject of one." The other is a bill for divorce, the original of which is in the possession of Mr. F. R. Fisher of Terre Haute, Indiana. At that time no one had any good will for the negro. The bill is drawn in a jocular vein, referring to the defendant, who was a habitual drunkard, as "a gentleman of colour," and averring that the couple had lived together for many years, "though not in the highest state of connubial felicity."

Judge Gustave Koerner, who served on the supreme bench in the early period of Lincoln's practice, recalls in his *Mem-*

oirs, published in 1909, "the often quaint and droll language used by him" in his arguments in that court.

That he had the Bible at his tongue's end, and, knowing its value in any appeal he might make to the sympathy, or imagination, or reason of his audience, made use of it in his public utterances, is well known. That he made the same use of scripture in convincing his juries is a matter of tradition. To get the documentary proof of this has not been so easy. But in the files of the circuit court of Menard county the papers in *Page v. Boyd*, tried in 1847, afford the proof that his use of the Bible in his closing speech was causing his opponent some uneasiness. It was a damage suit against Lincoln's client for injuries suffered by two mares that had strayed into the defendant's pasture and been used by defendant while in his custody. In the files, hurriedly scrawled on a scrap of paper by plaintiff's counsel, Mr. Robbins, is the following:

"Will the court instruct the jury that the passage from Exodus read by the counsel in this case does not apply in this suit as law?"

This instruction is endorsed "Given." The record shows a verdict for plaintiff.

The passage referred to may have been Exodus XXII-13; XXIII-4.

Any lawyer of Lincoln's ability would have accumulated a comfortable fortune with such a practice. When he left Springfield in 1861 he was fifty-two years old and the recognized leader of the Illinois bar. And yet, though living far from extravagantly, his entire estate was barely ten thousand dollars.

Mr. John W. Bunn, of Springfield, a client and friend, tells an incident which fairly illustrates Lincoln's idea of the value of his own services. George Smith and Company, Chicago

bankers, had written to Mr. Bunn to get some one to look after their defense in an attachment suit involving several thousand dollars. Lincoln conducted the trial and, winning it, charged them twenty-five dollars. They wrote back to Mr. Bunn: "We asked you to get the best lawyer in Springfield and it certainly looks as if you had secured one of the cheapest."

For defending a damage suit at Paris involving three thousand dollars, Mr. Andrew J. Hunter says the fee charged Mr. Hunter's father by Usher F. Linder and Abraham Lincoln was fifteen dollars, paid in wild cat currency.

The instances of his volunteer service, as in defending "Duff" Armstrong for murder, for friendship's sake, are not rare. When he had finished a case he seemed indifferent to any desire for adequate compensation. The joy of the contest had been his, and the satisfaction of having done his best. As for the fees, they were of little consequence.

His charge in the defense of McCormick v. Manny, a case involving some of the McCormick reaper patents, valued at half a million dollars, was two thousand dollars, and his fee in the case of McLean County against Illinois Central Railroad Company was five thousand dollars. His average yearly income when he left the practice is said to have been about three thousand dollars.

When he had finished his senatorial race against Stephen A. Douglas and paid his campaign assessment of five hundred dollars, he returned to take up the practice, which had become sadly demoralized. "It is bad to be poor," he wrote, "I shall go to the wall for bread and meat if I neglect my business this year as well as last." To eke out his income he prepared a lecture which he delivered at a few places. But as a Lyceum speaker he was as free from mercenary influences as he was at the law. Mr. Robert D. McDonald, of Danville, has told

how the young men of Pontiac engaged him to lecture at the Presbyterian church without agreeing on terms in advance. "When I came to settle with the speaker out of the receipts from a full house, Mr. Lincoln took the first ten dollar bill I handed him and threw up his hands as he protested 'For Heaven's sake don't give me any more; ten dollars is all it is worth.' "

Mr. James S. Ewing commenced the practice of law at about the time of Lincoln's election to the presidency and is now in the practice in Bloomington. Probably no one now living is better qualified from personal knowledge and understanding to speak of Lincoln, the lawyer. He said:* "When I first knew anything of courts, it was the habit for such lawyers as possessed sufficient experience and ability to attract a clientage to follow the court around the circuit. Mr. Lincoln was of this number and, more than any other, was most constant in his attendance. During fifteen years I heard him try a great many lawsuits. Lincoln was a master in all that went to make up what was called a jury lawyer. His wonderful power of clear and logical statement seemed the beginning and end of the case. After his statement of the law and the facts we wondered either how the plaintiff came to bring such a suit, or how the defendant *could* be such a fool as to defend it. By the time the jury was selected, each member of it felt that the great lawyer was his friend, and was relying on him as a juror to see that no injustice was done. Mr. Lincoln's ready, homely, but always pertinent, illustrations, incidents, and anecdotes, could not be resisted.

"Few men ever lived who knew, as he did, the main springs of action, secret motives, the passions, prejudices, and inclina-

*Address at Bloomington, Feb. 12, 1909.

tions which inspired the actions of men, and he played on the human heart as a master on an instrument. This power over a jury was, however, the least of his claims to be entitled a good lawyer. He was masterful in a legal argument before the court. His knowledge of the general principles of the law was extensive and accurate, and his mind so clear and logical that he seldom made a mistake in their application."

The best of Lincoln's earlier biographers was Isaac N. Arnold, a lawyer of no mean ability, and a member of Congress from Illinois during the Civil War and afterwards. This is his estimate:

"Lincoln was, upon the whole, the strongest jury lawyer in the state. He had the ability to perceive with almost intuitive quickness the decisive point in the case. In the examination and cross-examination of a witness he had no equal. He could compel a witness to tell the truth when he meant to lie, and if a witness lied he rarely escaped exposure under Lincoln's cross-examination. . . . His legal arguments . . . were always clear, vigorous, and logical, seeking to convince rather by the application of principle than by the citation of cases. A stranger going into court when he was trying a cause would, after a few moments, find himself on Lincoln's side and wishing him success. He seemed to magnetize everyone. He was so straight-forward, so direct, so candid, that every spectator was impressed with the idea that he was seeking only truth and justice. He excelled in the statement of his case. However complicated, he would disentangle it and present the real issue in so simple and clear a way that all could understand. Indeed, his statement often rendered argument unnecessary, and frequently the court would stop him and say: 'If that is the case, Brother Lincoln, we will hear the other side.'*" His illus-

*Isaac N. Arnold, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 84 (Chicago, 1885).

trations were often quaint and homely, but always apt and clear, and often decisive. He always met his opponent's case fairly and squarely, and never intentionally misstated law or evidence."

No one knew Lincoln the lawyer better than David Davis, once judge of the Eighth circuit and then associate justice of the supreme court of the United States. He said:

"I enjoyed for over twenty years the personal friendship of Mr. Lincoln. We were admitted to the bar about the same time and traveled for many years what is known in Illinois as the eighth judicial circuit. In 1848, when I first went on the bench, the circuit embraced fourteen counties, and Mr. Lincoln went with the court to every county. Railroads were not then in use, and our mode of travel was either on horseback or in buggies. Mr. Lincoln was transferred from the bar of the circuit to the office of president of the United States, having been without official position since 1849. In all the elements that constitute a great lawyer, Mr. Lincoln had few equals. He was great both at *nisi prius* and before an appellate tribunal. He seized the strong points of a cause and presented them with clearness and great compactness. His mind was logical and direct, and he did not indulge in extraneous discussion. His power of comparison was large and he rarely failed in a legal discussion to use that mode of reasoning. The framework of his mental and moral being was honesty, and a wrong cause was poorly defended by him. In order to bring into full activity his great powers, it was necessary that he should be convinced of the right and justice of the matter which he advocated. When so convinced, whether the cause was great or small, he was usually successful. He hated wrong and oppression everywhere, and many a man whose fraudulent conduct was undergoing review in a court of justice has writhed under his terrible indignation and rebuke."

The wisdom of Daniel Webster was crystallized into a single sentence of the Gettysburg address. The poetry and philosophy of a thousand years of Hebrew prophecy was restated in a paragraph of the Second Inaugural. The history of the Constitution, in the making and after, so far as it relates to the slavery question, is put in an hour's argument in the Cooper Union oration. The faith of a student and protagonist of the Constitution, that real human rights, even the rights under the odious slave trade are unassailable is uttered in the First Inaugural. Greatest of all these is the Cooper Union speech, where Lincoln demonstrated that the members of the Convention which framed the Constitution favored the ultimate extinction of slavery. The demonstration disclosed an intimate knowledge of American history that none but a specialist could have acquired in a life-long pursuit of the study. The letters, speeches, votes and official acts of 23 of the 39 members of the Constitutional Convention, commencing with the Congress of 1784 and concluding in 1820, had been brought out of obscure sources, no one knows where, and analyzed and digested by this intensive student, master of constitutional law, at his prairie home until he was able to make his demonstration, seventy years after, that the fathers of the Constitution at the birth of the republic had adopted the views as to the constitutional extinction of the slave power which Lincoln and his colleagues were advocating in 1860. The analysis covers in detail the votes of the individual members of the convention of 1787 as given upon the Act excluding slavery from the Northwest Territory in 1784, the Ordinance of 1787, the Act of 1789 putting the ordinance into effect, passed by Congress and signed by Washington, the Act organizing Mississippi as a Territory in 1798 and Louisiana Territory in 1804, and finally the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

The same scholarship shown in his application of constitutional history to the slavery question he displays as a student at law in his analysis of the Dred Scott decision in the Cooper Institute address and elsewhere. It is criticism at its best and it is always profound—I need only quote a sentence where he contrasts the position taken by the makers of the Constitution with that assumed by the Supreme Justices in the Dred Scott decision to show how clearly Lincoln, the constitutional lawyer, made his point:

“And then it is to be remembered that ‘our fathers who framed the government under which we live’—the men who made the Constitution—decided this same constitutional question in our favor long ago; decided it without division among themselves when making the decision; without division among themselves about the meaning of it after it was made, and so far as any evidence is left, without basing it upon any mistaken statement of facts.”

It is more than fidelity to the Constitution, as a fetish to worship with one's eyes closed, that Lincoln displayed in his handling of the crucial problem of slavery under the Constitution; it is rather the fidelity of an apostle to his Master, who knows what he believes through a heart-searching intimacy.

We have seen presidents who had not the scholarship and critical sense to search the Constitution for the power they sought to wield. We have known presidents who had not the patience to work out a difficult problem in statecraft under the wise restraint of constitutional limitations; we have heard of presidents who were jealous of those limitations and brushed aside the whole moral issue of obeying a constitutional oath as if to say with Mr. Dooley, “What's the Constitution betune friends?” Lincoln, the man of critical scholarship, of endless patience in constitutional research, would not commit

the shallow folly of criticising the Supreme Court or ignoring the requirements of our Constitution as more than one of our presidents have done.

As Lincoln wrote to Colonel Albert G. Hodges of Kentucky, April 4, 1864:

"I am naturally antislavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I can not remember when I did not so think and feel, and yet I have never understood that the presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took, that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power."

One who doubts Lincoln's erudition needs only read the state papers of the War President on constitutional questions. The language employed by Chief Justice Chase in *Texas v. White*, 7 Wall. 700, in defining the constitutional relation of a seceding state with the Union follows closely the theory of the president as advanced in his state papers and letters and differs radically from the dominant opinion that prevailed in the radical majority of the post-war congress. They were a part of an indissoluble union of indestructible states; their citizens were citizens of the United States; secession was a fallacy, for the seceders were in the Union all the time.*

In the Douglas debates, in his first inaugural address, and in the emergencies of the Civil War of which the Mason and Slidell incident is a type when he had to overrule his advisers and render his own final judgment, and in every

*See Lincoln's last public address delivered on April 11, 1865.

significant utterance as president, are to be found the proof of the trained lawyer. With politics and history this paper has nothing to do. It is the country lawyer whose career we have been studying. To the questions, Who taught the author of the Gettysburg oration and the Second Inaugural? and Whence came that simplicity of style? we have sought our answer in the story of his career at the law, of how he began, as a boy, with the determination to make his thought plain, of the influence of his public-spirited teachers, the opportunities he had in the Black Hawk War and in the legislature to know the men who were to control public opinion in the new state, the value of a giant strength which enabled him to endure the hardships of the life on the circuit and thrive upon them, and how, in all these experiences, two ambitions controlled him—to master the study of human nature, and to express his thought “in language plain enough for any boy to comprehend.”

Men of America have erected a shrine for Abraham Lincoln. Some love to recall him as he appealed to his “dissatisfied fellow-countrymen” in 1861; others, as he dedicated the national cemetery at Gettysburg. To others he is to be remembered as the great emancipator. The boys who wore the blue, and who now wear the grey of God’s providing, think of him as the “Father Abraham” of the armies of the Union. To others there comes the picture of a man of sorrows whose life at Washington was one long heartbreak and whose only cheer came when he could pardon a soldier boy. He is no less a man whom we see—in fancy or in memory—the simple-minded country lawyer, who loved the children, and who understood human nature as he studied it in the uncouth countrymen of a prairie frontier. As he stood outside the courthouse, long after court had adjourned, explaining things to the neighbors

and friends who gathered to hear his talk, we can see his giant figure with its earnest, kindly face, traced in the twilight of an autumn evening against the rude brick wall,—the figure of Lincoln, the country lawyer, trusted and loved by all who knew him.

APPENDIX

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